

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY**

AND

**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

---

**VOL. II.**

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*Published by order of the Managers of the*  
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VOL. II.]

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[No. I.]

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REVIEW OF

**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

THAT truth and virtue, and freedom, are gaining influence among the nations, seems to be admitted; and the durable nature of the causes which produce their advancement, constitutes an invincible argument, for the expectation of their future universal triumph. The spirit of the Protestant religion, the circulation of the Bible, that great charter of human rights, and light of faith and duty, in all the languages of men, and the advantages which commerce affords for the cultivation of humane affections, and the interchange of thoughts and opinions, all are combined to improve the national and social condition of our race. Illustrious examples, and noble actions, are not in our day entombed with their authors; the press stamps them with the seal of immortality, and the leaves on which they are recorded are borne to distant nations, as upon the wings of the wind. They shall live in the remembrance, and stimulate the virtues of, remotely advancing generations. The sacred flame which Granville Sharp kindled and guarded with an ever-watchful eye, has been left by him to vigilance, wakeful as his own; it has spread and burns more strongly, and must light the world. The last periods of

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time shall be cheered by it, and well will it mingle with the glories of eternity.

"If a good man were a great one," said a friend to the author of this work, "you have an excellent subject for a memoir." That there should have been an apparent hesitation in asserting the title of Granville Sharp to both these distinctions, occasions our surprise. We think his greatness as evident as his goodness. That man who, while employed for a considerable portion of his life with the duties of a public office, could instruct the first scholars of England in the idioms of the Hebrew and Greek, who was familiarly acquainted with other languages, both ancient and modern, who understood the theory of music, and was skilful with the pencil, who investigated, deeply, the principles of natural and English law, and produced a change in the legal opinions of Lord Mansfield;—that man who led in the cause of Africa, who founded the colony of Sierra Leone, who is denominated the father of the Bible Society, and who, though almost incessantly active, in the service of his fellow-men, wrote more than sixty pamphlets, many of them on abstruse subjects of national interest; that man, in fine, whose exertions and works contributed more perhaps than those of any other individual of the age in which he lived, to the cause of philanthropy in Britain, must have possessed extraordinary powers of mind. We are ready to acknowledge, however, that his intellectual faculties were less rare, than the moral energy which directed them.

The work before us, is a beautiful quarto volume, compiled by Mr. Prince Hoare, one of the honorary governors of the African Institution, and published in 1820. The distinguished association just mentioned, soon after the decease of Mr. Sharp, erected a monument to his memory, and expressed their desire and expectation that some competent individual, would, in a memoir of his life, do justice to his character. This duty devolved upon Mr. Hoare, and he has executed it, we think, with great industry and judgment, in a manner worthy of the eminent name which his production commemorates. In the arrangement of his work, Mr. Hoare has considered the events of Mr. Sharp's life under four principal heads; and has attended rather to the chronology of each action separately, than to that of the whole collectively. "I have continued," he observes, "to trace each of his actions through its progress, to its final term; and of course, the begin-

ning of every new subject is of an earlier date than the conclusion of the preceding one." The introduction; containing an account of Mr. Sharp's family and early life, is succeeded by a history of his efforts, 1st, for the liberation of African slaves in England; 2d, for the establishment of the colony at Sierra Leone; 3d, for the establishment of Episcopacy in America; and 4th, for the abolition of the slave trade. To these, says his Biographer, might be added his attempt to reconcile the American colonies with England. The concluding chapters give a portrait of his domestic character; an account of his decease; a list of his works, and extracts from his correspondence. His numerous letters, we are informed, will constitute a separate work, and from the specimens exhibited in this, we hope they will soon be given to the world. The limits of our work will allow us to present to our readers only a very concise and incomplete view of these interesting memoirs; yet though we must abridge much, and leave unnoticed more, that is throughout valuable, we will endeavour to give a faithful outline of the original portrait, unfinished indeed, but preserving those bolder traits which deeply impress, and are not soon forgotten:

To present the history of an artless and innocent man, incapable of guile or enmity, who devoted mature life to philanthropical pursuits, and every where went about doing good, is but to hold up to the virtuous part of the present generation, a bright image of its own mind. To shew the example of an equally mild and discriminating philanthropist, an equally complacent and severe censor, unwearied in kindness, yet inflexible in judgment, and although unmoved to resentment, implacable to aggression and dangerous error, is a lesson still in store for our advantage. That example and that lesson, the following narrative is designed to convey. Some apology is to be made for the undertaking.

Whoever considers the integrity, sincerity, candour, zeal, constancy, devout piety, and learning, of the subject of these memoirs, exemplified as they were by the exercise of his faculties and attainments in an unremitted series of acts of beneficence, will perceive that some record of his virtuous course is due to mankind.

Whoever reflects on the variety of his undertakings, in concerns of the most arduous nature, on the extensiveness and depth of his researches, in different languages and sciences, in Biblical literature, in the religious and political rights of our constitution, our country, and our nature—researches diligently pursued through the greater portion of a life uninterrupted by sickness and protracted to nearly four-score years, will feel how inadequate the labour of any individual must be to a full examination, and just display, of all that was useful and instructive in his eminent example."

Mr. Sharp was descended from an ancient and respectable family in Yorkshire. His grandfather was the venerable John Sharp, archbishop of York, a man eminent for integrity, learning, disinterestedness, and holy devotion to the duties of his office. An anecdote of so singular a character is related of this excellent man, that we think we shall gratify our readers by inserting it:

"It was his lordship's custom to have a saddle-horse attend his carriage, that, in case of fatigue from sitting, he might refresh himself with a ride. As he was thus going to his Episcopal residence, and was got a mile or two before his carriage, a decent, well looking young man came up to him, and with a trembling hand and faltering tongue, presenting a pistol to his lordship's breast, demanded his money. The archbishop, with great composure, turned about and looking steadfastly at him, desired he would remove that dangerous weapon, and tell him fairly his condition. Sir! Sir! with great agitation, cried the youth, your money instantly! Hear me, young man, said the archbishop,—you see I am a very old man, and my life is of very little consequence; your's seems far otherwise. I am named Sharp, and am archbishop of York; my-carriage and servants are behind; tell me what money you want, and who you are, and I'll not injure you, but prove a friend. Here, take this,—and now ingenuously tell me how much you want to make you independent of so destructive a business as you are engaged in? O, Sir, replied the man, I detest the business as much as you. I am—but at home, there are creditors who will not stay.—Fifty pounds, my lord, indeed would do what no tongue can tell.—Well, Sir, I take your word; and, upon my honour, if you will, in a day or two, call on me at ——— what I have now given shall be made up that sum. The highway-man looked at him, was silent, and went off; and at the time appointed actually waited on the archbishop, and assured his lordship his words had left impressions which nothing could ever destroy.

Nothing more transpired for a year and a half, or more; when one morning a person knocked at his grace's gate, and with peculiar earnestness, desired to see him. He entered the room where his lordship was, but had scarce advanced a few steps before his countenance changed, his knees tottered, and he sank, almost breathless, to the floor. On recovering, he requested an audience in private. The apartment being cleared, my lord, said he, you cannot have forgotten the circumstance at such a time and place; gratitude will never suffer them to be obliterated from my mind. In me, my lord, you now behold that once most wretched of mankind; but now, by your inexpressible humanity, rendered equal, perhaps superior, in happiness, to millions. O, my lord, (tears for a while preventing his utterance) 'tis you, 'tis you that have saved me, body and soul; 'tis you that have saved a dear and much loved wife, and a brood of children whom I tendered dearer than my life. Here are fifty pounds; but never shall I find language to testify what I feel. Your God is your witness; your deed itself is your glory; and may Heaven and all its blessings, be your present and everlasting

reward. I was the younger son of a wealthy man; your lordship knows him——my marriage alienated his affection, and my brother withdrew his love, and left me to sorrow and penury. A month since, my brother died a bachelor, and intestate. What was his, is become mine; and by your astonishing goodness, I am now at once the most penitent, the most grateful, and happiest of my species."

Thomas Sharp, the father of Granville, was the youngest son of the archbishop, and in 1772, became the archdeacon of Northumberland, in which station he fully exemplified the virtues of his predecessor. Granville Sharp was the last of five sons, all of whom were distinguished for their private worth and public benevolence. In the year 1750, he left Durham school, where he had acquired the first rudiments of the learned languages, and was bound apprentice to a Quaker by the name of Halsey, a linen draper of London; who, dying in 1753, he remained under the same indentures, with Mr. Halsey's executer, H. Wiloughby, Esq. a Presbyterian. In the subsequent year, he went into the employ of Bourk, (a Roman Catholic) & Co. Irish factors in cheapside. To these circumstances, his own reflecting mind has given unexpected interest. By being thus intimately acquainted with individuals differing so widely in their religious views, he was "taught (to use his own language) to make a proper distinction between the *OPINIONS* of men and their *PERSONS*." "The former," he observes, "I can freely condemn, without presuming to judge the individuals themselves. Thus freedom of argument is preserved, as well as Christian charity, leaving personal judgment to Him to whom alone it belongs."

A series of controversies, first with a Socinian and afterwards with a Jew, induced him to apply his mind with great ardour to the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and his diligence was not less remarkable than his success. Instances are recorded of the manifestation of his benevolence during these early years.

In 1757, Mr. Sharp lost his mother, and after visiting and assisting his family, he returned to London with two of his sisters, and abandoning his former business, obtained a subordinate appointment in the ordnance office.

Until 1764, he continued in the discharge of his official duties, acquiring, during his hours of leisure, that accurate knowledge of the sacred languages, by which he was finally so much distinguished. He was then appointed clerk in ordinary, and removed to the Minuting Branch.

It was about this time that his attention was first directed to the sufferings of the African race. Little did he imagine then, when accidentally called upon to relieve an indigent and miserable fellow-creature, that he was commencing, under the "excitement of mercy," a series of efforts that would require of him a profound knowledge of law,—“which would be in opposition to the decisions of the highest courts of judicature,” overthrow the influence of authoritative, but unjust opinions, and finally establish the glorious truth, that by the English Constitution, every human being that treads upon the soil of Britain is **FREE**. The first African protected by Granville Sharp was Jonathan Strong. This man had been a slave in Barbadoes, and being brought to England, was cruelly treated by his master, and when considered useless from the injuries received, he was abandoned in the streets. By the kind services of Dr. William Sharp, the brother of Granville, he recovered, and when discovered by his master, was claimed as a slave. In order to meet the charge brought against him and his brother for their interference in behalf of this poor slave, Granville applied himself for more than two years to the study of English law; consulted the best written and living authorities, and finally published a tract proving beyond controversy, that the right of slavery in England could not be sustained. Copies of this publication he sent to Judge Blackstone, (with whom he had had a previous interview little to his satisfaction) to the Lord archbishop of Canterbury, and other eminent individuals, accompanying them, in several instances, with private letters, expressing, with that candor and conscientiousness, which ever marked his actions, his deep sense of the duty of the English nation to protect the natural rights of strangers, in the spirit of their noble constitution. Two other cases, very similar to that of Strong, soon after occurred; those of Hylas and Lewis, which resulted in their deliverance, but did not settle the great question concerning the liberty or slavery of African servants brought by their masters into England. When the jury pronounced the verdict of acquittal in the case of Lewis, Lord Mansfield observed, “You will see more in the question than you see at present. It is no matter mooting it now; but if you look into it, there is more than by accident you are acquainted with. There are a great many opinions given upon it; I am aware of many of them; put perhaps it is much better it should

never be finally discussed or settled. I don't know what the consequence may be, if the masters were to lose their property by bringing their slaves to England. I hope it never will be finally discussed; for I would have all masters think them free, and all negroes think they were not, because then they would both behave better."

It is manifest, that during these several trials, the opinions of the most enlightened jurists in reference to the rights of negroes introduced as slaves into England, were in a fluctuating state; and Lord Mansfield himself, appeared reluctant to express an opinion on the subject. The case of James Somerset, however, came on before the court of the King's Bench in 1772. This negro had been brought as a slave into England by Mr. Charles Stewart, of Virginia, in 1769. Mr. Sharp employed every means in his power which seemed likely to contribute to what he deemed a righteous and prosperous result, yet his modesty and knowledge of human nature, induced him to conceal himself as far as possible from the public, and to avoid every thing which might irritate a judge, already, as he believed, prepossessed against his attempt. At the opening of the cause, Lord Mansfield apprised the counsel of Somerset, "*that if it should come fairly to the general question, whatever the opinion of the court might be, even if they were all agreed on one side or the other, the subject was of so general and extensive concern, that, from the nature of the question, he should certainly take the opinion of the Judges upon it.*" The cause was argued with great ability by the counsel for Somerset, but the unsettled opinions of Lord Mansfield, induced him to adjourn the matter to a second hearing, which afforded Mr. Sharp further time to extend his inquiries, and to adopt such measures as might tend to render the decision permanently beneficial, should it be in accordance with his judgment. He addressed a letter to Lord North, marked with the respect due to the first minister of the Kingdom, and that candour and boldness which became a christian. He spoke of the duty of immediately redressing the grievances of the servants in the Colonies, and added, "I say immediate redress, because, to be in power and to neglect (as life is very uncertain) even a day, in endeavouring to put a stop to such monstrous injustice, and abandoned wickedness, must necessarily endanger a man's *eternal* welfare, be he ever so great in *temporal* dignity and office." The pleadings in

favour of Somerset were again heard, and the decision again postponed. On the 14th of May, 1772, the cause was brought up for final consideration. Great talent, learning and eloquence, were displayed on both sides, on this memorable occasion. Lord Mansfield abstained from giving judgment on the same day, and appeared still to hesitate about deciding the general question. Judgment, however, was pronounced on the 22d of June, when Lord Mansfield, in concluding his opinion, said, "there is no necessity to refer the question to the twelve judges. Immemorial usage preserves a positive law, after the occasion or accident which gave rise to it, has been forgotten; and tracing the subject to natural principles, the claim of slavery never can be supported. The power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by the law. Upon the whole, we cannot say the cause returned is sufficient by the law; and therefore the man must be discharged." Thus was terminated the controversy between the Chief Justice of the King's Bench and Granville Sharp, establishing a principle most honorable to the English Constitution, and of immense consequence to the cause of justice, humanity and virtue. The judgment thus pronounced has established the following axiom: as soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free.

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### **Ladies' Society for the Education of Negro Children.**

We copy from the last number of the *Christian Observer*, the account below of an association of ladies in England, for the education and improvement of coloured children in the West Indies. And why may not societies of a similar character be formed in our country? That it is our solemn duty to afford more generally than is done at present, religious instructions to our coloured people, appears to us, one of the most obvious truths in the world. We have a national Bible Society. We send Missionaries to our Indian tribes—to Palestine—to the islands of the South sea, to Ceylon and Burmah, while almost two millions of slaves, supporting us by their labour, meeting us at every corner, scattered over nearly half our territory, are looked upon



with coldness, and passed by as without a title to the knowledge and benefits of our Religion. It is time for the churches in the United States, to exhibit more impartiality and consistency, and to cultivate with greater care their own fields, while they are planting at so great expense the "good seed" in distant lands. The Clergy, especially, should lay this subject to heart. We will also express the hope, that the christian ladies amongst us, whose hearts are most susceptible of kind impressions, and who seldom yield to discouragements in the discharge of any duty, will give a portion of their time, their influence, and their efforts to this Heavenly work.

We have in our possession a large mass of interesting papers and publications connected with the proceedings of Anti-slavery Societies, and the present condition of the slaves and people of colour in our West-India islands: some of the most important extracts from which we hope in future numbers to lay before our readers. For the present, we must content ourselves with announcing the formation of a Ladies' Society for promoting the early education and improvement of the children of negroes, and of people of colour, in those colonies. The Society is under the patronage of a number of benevolent ladies of high rank and distinction, and we trust it may be of service, if not in its more direct efforts for the objects of its humane care, at least in exciting an additional interest in the minds of the British public, especially among persons of influence, in behalf of the most degraded and oppressed portion of the human race; more degraded and oppressed in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, under professedly Christian masters, the subjects of the British crown, and enjoying themselves the ample liberties of Britons, than were the helots of Sparta, or the slaves of Rome, in far less enlightened ages, and under the obdurate institutions of Pagan despotism. It is well that our countrywomen should zealously pledge themselves to the prosecution of the important object of educating the children of the slaves and coloured population, who, in a vast majority of instances, are scarcely more regarded as fit objects for mental culture than brute animals reared for the market or the plough. And if the benevolent individuals who patronize this object should not find our plantations generally open to their exertions, and not be able to establish efficient schools for the education of a future race of well-instructed, well-ordered, Christian labourers, but from the present unhappy condition of West-India society, should find obstacles to impede their efforts, the difficulty will at least afford a new argument to prove the necessity for the authoritative interference of the mother country to place our colonial system on a more wise and liberal and humane basis.

The following is the Society's address:

'The Society now announced originated in a conviction, that while much has been effected for the benefit of heathen nations, there yet remains thousands of human beings, who are spending their strength to supply us with

luxuries: but whose ignorance and depravity, though we have often lamented, we have yet done little to remove; and whose peculiar situation as slaves renders them incapable of promoting their own improvement, or that of their children. Even those negroes whose masters have been the most compassionate, have, except in a few instances, enjoyed rather the happiness of the inferior animals, than that of rational and immortal beings; for whatever may be the case with regard to their food and clothing, it is an acknowledged fact, that no adequate provision has been made for their instruction in the duties of morality and religion.

In confirmation of this statement, it has been estimated, by persons well acquainted with the subject, that the whole number of negro children now under instruction, does not amount to 10,000; while, on the most moderate computation, there are not less than 150,000 of the slave population, under ten years of age, in our West-India colonies: so that only one child in fifteen is receiving the blessing of education, in a country where, from the depraved habits of the parents, it is so peculiarly needed.

'Surely, then, a vigorous effort ought to be made. The responsibility rests, in a great measure, with ourselves: for no one will any longer deny, that Africans are capable of improvement and civilization. In the actual state of Sierra Leone, we have the most gratifying testimony to the admirable effects of Christian instruction upon this neglected race. The opinion of the late Sir Charles M'Carthy on this subject is worth recording. When he was asked by a naval officer (connected with one of the West-India Islands) what method had been pursued to bring them from the deplorable condition in which they were received from the slave ships, to such a state in so short a time: 'No other,' he replied, 'than teaching them the truths of Christianity; and believe me,' he added, 'if you admit Christian teachers into your island, you will find your slaves soon become affectionate and faithful servants to you.' The evidence of Captain Sabine of the Engineers, an unprejudiced eye-witness, who resided there six weeks, and who closely and repeatedly inspected the state of the liberated Africans, is also most satisfactory. He has declared, in reference to the largest assemblage of them at Regent's Town, 'that he is persuaded there is not to be seen upon earth, a community of equal size so truly exemplary.' See Quarterly Review, No. 63, p. 34.

'Such indeed has been the happy result wherever the experiment has been made. The governments of different colonies, where missionaries have been stationed, bear the most favourable testimony to the influence of their labours on the state of society; and wherever insurrections have taken place, *the instructed negroes have invariably been found the most faithful to their masters.* It is not surprising that these facts, confirmed as they have been by the reports of other individuals, and now become notorious, should have contributed to remove the prejudices that formerly existed against negro education. Many applications have accordingly been made to the committee of the Church Missionary Society, by proprietors of estates, to supply their slaves with teachers; and liberal offers have been made for their support. There also exists among the negroes themselves, an ardent desire for instruction.

In some places, those children who are not allowed to go to school, have waited for the return of their more fortunate companions, and by offering some little bribe, prevailed on them to impart the instruction they have just received.

'The claims of another numerous class of destitute children, the free children of colour, are also most urgent; many of them are in a lamentable state of poverty and wretchedness, and stand peculiarly in need of Christian instruction. But every effort for their improvement is impeded by want of funds; and without liberal contributions from this country, they, no less than the slaves, will remain in their present state of ignorance and degradation.

'Under these impressions a Ladies' Society has been formed, the object of which will be to establish schools, and further to assist such schools already established, as may be approved of by the Society, and sanctioned by the owners and superintendents of estates. In all its proceedings the Society will consider the latter condition indispensable. The Society will thankfully avail itself of the counsel and assistance of the established ecclesiastical authorities, whenever it can procure them, and, aware of the importance of a regular system of inspection, will endeavour to engage those authorities specially in this service; and where this is not practicable, will place their schools under the superintendence of the agents of the Church Missionary and other Societies. In making grants to institutions already established, the Society will always deem such of them as are connected with the Church of England to have the first claim, but will not refuse their aid to those which are under the care of Christian Missionaries of other denominations. They hope especially, in the prosecution of this important undertaking, to have the co-operation of ladies connected with the West-Indies; from whose influence, and local knowledge, they expect much valuable assistance. Above all, they would depend entirely on the Divine blessing, without which no human efforts can be of any avail.'

Individuals disposed either to subscribe to the Society in London, or to form Associations in the country, may forward their names to the Treasurers, the Hon. Miss Calthorpe, 41, Lower Grosvenor Street; Miss H. G. Sperling, Highbury Hill; the Secretaries, Mrs. Rich, 42 Cadogan Place; Miss F. Maitland, 11, Bryenstone Square; Mr. Nisbit, Berner's Street, Oxford Street; Sir C. Scott and Co. Holles Street, Cavendish Square; Messrs. Coutts and Co. No. 59, Strand; and Messrs. Hoare, and Co. 62, Lombard Street."

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### **Opinions in Georgia.**

By every expression of opinions favourable to our Institution from the remote south, we acknowledge ourselves particularly gratified. Some of our best and ablest friends reside in Georgia. We regret, however, that the number of auxiliary societies there, is so small, but are encouraged to hope, by the article which we

now insert from the Georgia Journal, that they will soon be multiplied. The aid of the whole nation will be requisite to complete our design, but the support of the south is particularly demanded. Without the countenance and liberality of those most interested in our project, little can be expected from others, and we labour almost in vain, but with these, we cannot fail to accomplish much, though it may possibly be less than we desire. We here give the article to which we have referred:

*"Gentlemen:*

"Knowing your liberality as public journalists, and believing you are willing that subjects of an interesting nature, the welfare of individuals and the community, should be discussed through your columns, I present myself before you and the public, on a subject of the greatest importance. I have for a long time been in hopes, that some person in our State would take up the subject to which I allude, and that some of our ablest pens would be employed in its defence; namely, the necessity and practicability of colonizing the free people of colour of these United States in Africa, through the instrumentality of the American Colonization Society and its auxiliaries: but some of our ablest pens have been cumbered about other things, or feel an aversion to the above institutions. In defending the American Colonization Society, I do not expect that my very feeble abilities will enable me to do justice to its claims upon the benevolence of the humane of our land, or that I can influence many of the people of Georgia to view the subject in a favourable light. No doubt, however, that many of our citizens are already friendly disposed towards the American Colonization Society. Witness the existence of auxiliaries at Milledgeville, and Eatonton, and one in Jackson county, and would to God an auxiliary society were established at every courthouse in the State, and in every populous and wealthy neighborhood, and, as has been suggested by some, that a public collection might be made on the fourth of every July annually, to swell the funds of the parent society. That the existence of free people of colour among us is an evil, none will deny, and I expect *all* wish their removal from our State. ) That some individuals would manumit their slaves, were it practicable, is also admitted—but we all know from a variety of considerations which it is unnecessary to name, and in consequence of the policy which is obliged to be pursued in the southern States, that it is extremely difficult to free a slave, and hence the enactment of those laws which a fatal necessity seems to demand. Our northern brethren therefore make little allowance for our situation, when frequently they denounce us as a race of cannibals, or at least as the most cruel people. Vaunt not over us, dear brethren of the north, we inherited the evil from our forefathers, [and we really do not think you do your southern brethren any good, or that you serve the interests of the people of colour, when you recommend and enforce premature schemes of emancipation. With joy, therefore, I behold some of the citizens of the north directing their energies towards the support and enlargement of the American Colonization Society, and I

hope every man of religion at least, in the south, will strike hands with their northern brethren on this subject, "and let our motto be God and our country," and let that country embrace our whole soil and surface from Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the western States. With sorrow of heart have I viewed the divisions that have been likely to grow out of the subject of slavery. O that we could all feel that we are *Americans*, a band of brothers, that the "interest of one is the interest of all, and that the interest of all extends to every one." Dismissing, therefore, every scheme in the north and in the south which might have a tendency to create jealousy and sectional divisions, let us all unite in the support of the American Colonization Society. And though we may not live to see the day when the sons of Africa shall have returned to their native soil, scattering the blessings of civilization and christianity among their benighted brethren, yet *our posterity* will bless us for contributing all in our power to smooth the only wrinkle, and wash off the only stain upon the fair temple of American liberty. I could mention other motives why every American, especially in the southern States, ought to be friendly to this society, arising from considerations of policy if not from religion. I have stated, some individuals among us would manumit their slaves, were it practicable. I say then, were an asylum provided beyond the limits of the United States and its territories, for the reception of those already free, and for those that might be freed by the *voluntary acts* of their owners, mind, gentlemen, I say, *voluntary*, where would be the injury to our commonwealth, or what man's rights would be violated, guaranteed to him by and under our blessed constitution? Here let me observe, that I reprobate every measure that has for its object the violation of those rights. Every scheme of the kind, from the very nature of things, makes the condition of the slave worse, and if pushed to extremities would produce a state of things, the mere contemplation of which would be painful. I now ask, has not the American Colonization Society provided an asylum for the free people of colour? And can they not there enjoy every civil and religious privilege? Why, it seems in one of their towns there is both a Methodist and a Baptist meeting house, and no doubt their brethren in America pray for their enlargement. I ask again, does the parent society contemplate the removal of as many free people of colour to their settlement in Africa as their means will allow? I answer yes. Does this society wish to meddle with our slaves as our rightful property? I answer no. I think not. For what would the society do with all the coloured population on its hands, it would need a much stronger fund than it now possesses to transport all these people to Africa at once, even if they desired the emancipation of our slaves, for their whole object is to plant and rear a colony in Africa. This being the fact, and all agreeing that it would be desirable to remove the free people from among us, I ask, what plan is more reasonable than the one contemplated by and under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society. I do not pretend to say that this society can do every thing at once, but I do say that if it were cordially upheld and supported by auxiliary societies and private benefactions all over our country, it would do wonders, nay it has done

wonders, it has planted a small colony already, and much is yet to be done by it. As for myself, I have never yet joined any of the auxiliary societies, but if one were formed in my county, I would certainly become a member: until then, I must contribute my mite through some other channel.

I have taken a deep interest in the parent society ever since its formation, and the formation of every auxiliary cheers my mind. And why should I blush to own this fact, when our worthiest statesmen, and men of undoubted patriotism, are attached either to the parent or some auxiliary society, as officers or members, among whom we see the honored names of Crawford, Monroe, Clay, and Washington. Be firm, distinguished patriots: go on, O Washington, be faithful in the office to which you are called, never mind the opposition of a C. Gracchus; and remember the hand of unerring wisdom is in the business, and the combined opposition of your enemies shall never prevail. And should you even die a martyr as did a Caldwell in so good a cause, yet would not the cause of the society die with you. From our habits and education in the south, it is natural that Messrs. King and Tucker's resolutions should be opposed; in fact Mr. Tucker's resolution was viewed objectionable on constitutional grounds, and if his resolution were constitutional, I would not wish to plant a colony of free blacks even beyond the Rocky Mountains. As to Mr. Rufus King's resolution, I don't think it so fearful as some imagine, yet the people of the south view that man as their enemy, and not without some grounds; every thing relating to slavery originating with that man is viewed with distrust. Many think it will not do for the free negroes to emigrate to Hayti, the Colonizing society will not do, and still the free negroes at least must not stay among us.—For one I say no plan will answer but the one I am now defending. In this country a free negro is neither free nor bond, but stands upon insulated ground, the outcast of all society. I say then let us send the christian, the honest, the intelligent among our negroes first, to Africa, for of such materials the first settlers of the colony ought to be composed. Perhaps I have said enough, without the subject were more ably handled, would to God it were in better hands. However I feel gratified, and in some degree relieved in raising my voice in this public manner in favor of an institution, the most important in the United States. Not that I would speak light of the almost countless christian and humane societies in the United States; but I would say to the wealthy where you give one dollar to the ~~Indian~~ school, give two to the American Colonization Society; where you give two to the Jew, give four to the society. But the question is, do you give any thing to any charitable institution? You dress fine, you dress your sons and daughters, your table groans with every necessary article of food; how much do you give to the benevolent institutions of the day, yet God, whose steward you are, to dispense his manifold gifts, marks your conduct, and what a fearful hour will that be to you, when thou shalt "give an account of thy stewardship!"

COKE.

P. S. If Mr. Crawford, who now that he is free from the burdens of public life, and no doubt wishes to be useful, were to encourage an Auxiliary Colonizing Society in his county, many would join it.

## Character and habits of the Africans.

[FROM GOLBERRY'S TRAVELS.]

The journal from which we make the following extract, was published many years since; and by more recent discoveries, our knowledge of Africa has greatly increased. We know, however, of no facts which go to controvert the opinions expressed in this article, concerning the condition and enjoyments of the Africans who were visited by the author. That nations exist in Africa, whose character is less amiable, and whose habits are more repulsive, is certain, and of these we shall hereafter give some account. From the description which we now present to our readers, few, we think, will infer that the physical, not to say moral state of the Africans, has been improved by their introduction into the West Indies, and the territories of the south:

“The climate and character of the African blacks, assimilate in such a manner, as to render them singularly happy.

Gifted with a carelessness which is totally *unique*, with an extreme agility, indolence, sloth, and great sobriety; the negro exists in his native soil, in the sweetest apathy, unconscious of want, or the pain of privation, tormented neither with the cares of ambition, nor with the devouring ardour of desire.

To him the necessary and indispensable articles of life are reduced to a very small number; and those endless wants, which torment Europeans, are not known amongst the negroes of Africa; they exist only in those things which are absolutely superfluous.

There, physical necessities are few, and artificial ones none. The heat of the climate in which the negro exists, renders clothing a burden to him, and makes him careless about the residence which he inhabits. Half an ell of linen suffices for his habiliments, and a few branches of trees, not worked into elegance, but covered with straw or leaves, constitute his house. If fire or a storm destroy it, he cares not, for in eight days it is again re-built; nor need the labour of its owner be great, for the hands of his neighbours are offered to assist him.

The usual food of the negro consists of millit, rice, maize, potatoes, &c. they likewise use yucca root. They dress their aliments by steam, and they season them with gravy, some leaves or herbs, or else with butter, or the oil of the palm and cocoa tree.

On the coasts, and the banks of rivers, streams, and lakes, their food consists of greater variety, because they mingle with it fish, and even cayman. Near the forest, they regale themselves with game; pigeons, Guinea fowl, and poultry, abound in almost every part of Africa. The negro eats with great zest the flesh of the elephant and hippopotamus, and even the lizard; in short, nothing disgusts him; not even corrupted flesh or stinking fish.

In very healthy and fertile countries, covered with woods and pasture, these people rear cattle, goats, kids, and sheep; they have also buffaloes. But in general, the hunger of the negro is without energy, his food is simple and mild, and his regimen temperate.

Twenty days labour in the year, will suffice for the cultivation of the fields, which produce all essential articles for the inhabitants.

In this country, where territorial possessions are known, where individuals own lands, the negroes are rich, and the free men have almost always slaves, on whom devolves the scanty labour of a very simple and limited system of agriculture; but in the greater part of Africa, a spot of ground is chosen by a whole village, who clear and cultivate it; the harvest is made *in communibus*, and divided according to the number of families; the old people make the distributions, without occasioning the least altercation, or else they deposit it in public magazines, secured and watched, and portion it out according as it is wanted.

Water is the ordinary drink of the negroes, but when they regale themselves, their beverage is either palm or cocoa wine, or that procured from the banana tree; they also use a kind of beer, which they make in several parts, either of the juice of slightly acidulated fruits, or else with water, in which they have fermented rice, millet, or maize.

Indigo and cotton grow at their feet, without culture. The women collect a quantity of cotton sufficient for each family; they bleach, purify, card, and spin it, and weavers, with an astonishingly simple apparatus, make it into cloth, which is about six inches wide, and by joining these fillets, they make their pieces. The indigenous indigo serves to colour these cloths, one ell of which is sufficient to form a complete dress for the lower class of negroes.

In more wealthy countries, they manufacture stuffs of a remarkable fineness and beauty; and the elegant pieces of cloth, the fine mats, baskets, hats, ornaments, quivers, and other things which are brought by the chains of slaves, from the interior, prove that the negroes possess a taste, and skillfulness, and that they delight in works which require delicacy and patience.

The young negro is not attacked by love until his fourteenth year; then alone he begins to feel the longing of desire, but without violence. At eighteen his heart makes a choice, and he adheres to it faithfully; he loves passionately, seeks the object of his affection, demands, and obtains her. This first wife always preserves his friendship and entire confidence; as well as the first place and rank in his house. But if the negro be rich, after a short period has elapsed, he associates with this first wife some concubines; such is the custom in Africa, and it never interrupts domestic harmony.

Thus all the wants and pleasures of a negro are gratified without occasioning to him the least trouble either of mind or body; his soul hardly ever rouses itself from its quiet and peaceful indolence; all violent passions, inquietudes, and fears, are almost unknown to him; his fatalism makes him neither hope nor dread any event; he never murmurs, but submits to all, and his life passes in unruffled calmness, in voluptuous indolence, which constitutes his supreme pleasure; hence we may reckon the negro among the most favoured and happy productions of nature.



Such is in fact, the picture of the blissful situation in which the negro lives on his natal soil. His soul is always tranquil and satisfied, and invulnerable to *ennui*, that fatal poison which afflicts only civilized, rich, ambitious, and prosperous societies. Those men who have remained nearest to simple nature, are exempted from the fatal effects of this venom, which produces more disorders and crimes, than is generally imagined.

Like children, the adult negroes apply their attention for a whole day to the most futile occupations, and spend their time in colloquies, which according to our opinion, are nothing else but silly tittle tattle: yet, from this very circumstance it is inexhaustible, and it is carried on with a volubility, confidence, and gaiety, of which there is scarcely an example in our European societies.

In all the countries which I have visited, I have seen those assemblies which the Africans call *pallawer* or *palabres*; they commence at sunrise, consisting of thirty or forty blacks of all ages, who collect together in a large hall, denominated the Bentaba, or under the leafy branches of some fine tree in the village.

They form themselves into a circle, and the oldest in company opens the conversation by relating the petty events of the preceding evening; but they become more important from exaggeration, from the application of them, the reflections, and the remembrances which they excite.

Soon after, the pipe is introduced, for doubtless the custom of smoking is general among mankind; all these talkers smoke, even the youngest, and the prattling goes on the better in consequence. The fumes of the tobacco awaken their minds, and exalt their joy, like delicate wines among us, excited formerly an amiable cheerfulness in our repasts, when gentle friendship, and obliging urbanity, heightened still farther the pleasure.

After this succeed sports. The two most dexterous in company are singled out to engage with each other; separate sides are taken on the two champions, but without jealousy or ill-nature or causing the least interruption.

There is a kind of game, which I have often seen them give the preference to. It is something like chess, and has a complexity in it equally difficult to comprehend. The earth or sand serves for a chess board; for this purpose they prepare a little square surface, in which they plant, with a certain degree of order, some bits of wood or straw. It is on the apt displacing or removal of those pieces, that the issue of the game depends.

These moments, thus dedicated to pleasure, talking, smoking, and playing are so attractive and seducing, that they know not how to separate at the hour of dinner; many indeed would rather deprive themselves of it; but the women are always kind and attentive to their husbands, their fathers, and their brothers, and carry them kouskou or rice, and they generally mix with it some dainty bits.

Thus passes the whole day, and towards the evening I have often found these assemblies in the same place, in the same humor, with the same gaiety, and the prattling equally as animated as if they had just began.

Night, however, terminates these amusements, when they resort to dancing companies, which are held in the open air during the dry season, and in the bentaba while the rainy weather continues; these assemblies are always very numerous. Here they give themselves up with raptures to the pleasures of dancing; the negresses in particular are passionately fond of it, and it may be asserted, that during one half of every night in the year, all Africa is dancing.

In these amusements the men and women join, the first performances of these assemblies are performed by the young people. The subject is generally some warlike action, and all the motions of these mimics and dancers are rude and violent.

The happy existence of the negroes, their sobriety, pastime, and diversions, daily prepare them for a mild, profound, and tranquil sleep: and to them alone, nature seems to have specially given the power of enjoying indolence without *ennui*, and all the blessings of sleep, without courting it by previous fatigue and labour. They know nothing but pleasure, for this name is given to every thing voluntarily done, and without constraint, as well as to every thing which is performed with ease, combined with interest.

This manner of living, a food always light, a uniform and temperate regimen, an equal perspiration, an habitual idleness, the absence of all antecedent cares and gloomy thoughts, a general and constant tranquillity which arises from moderate and easily satisfied desires, and pleasures, though lively, yet simple and easy, all concur to secure the blacks of Africa, in a permanent state of health and vigour, and to render them peculiarly fit for the purposes of procreation. Hence the negro race is perhaps the most prolific of any human species on the face of the globe.

Their infancy and youth are singularly happy. The mothers are excessively fond of their offspring, and they become slaves to the caprices of these little creatures, with great delight.

During their infancy, and till the age of fourteen for the boys, and ten for the girls, they are harrassed with no constraint, no application, no painful commands. In the whole of their early years, they know no other employment than pleasure, and their life is entirely divided between diversion and sleep. Hence, nothing can be more agreeable to behold, or conveys a more pleasing and feeling sensation, than the appearance of clusters of these infantine negroes and negresses, occupied in playing and talking together; it is a picture of the most perfect happiness.

There is one circumstance which is highly advantageous to the propagation of the species, viz. the children never contract any of those impure habits, which enervate and destroy so many children in Europe. There must therefore, necessarily follow, from a happy infancy, and an independent but wise youth, an organization and physical constitution, well compacted, and highly favourable to the preservation and procreation of the species.

The negro children support much better than those of Europe, the dangers of dentition, and this period of mortality is scarcely felt in Africa.

In many countries, the mothers inoculate their children themselves, while in others, the small pox is unknown, and this disease, which in Europe sacrifices so many individuals at an early age, (and against which the vaccine will prove such an inestimable preservative, should experience and time confirm the important merit of this discovery,) does not, in a manner of speaking, exercise its ravages at all on the negro children of Africa.

A thatched hut, the building of which costs nothing, a few ells of common cloth, six pounds of millet or rice per diem, are sufficient to lodge, dress, and board a family, comprised of father, mother, and four or five children. The negro collects himself the necessary materials for building a hut, and he likewise performs all the labour. The women collect the cotton, and make the clothing; twenty days' labour in the year, secures an abundance of food; so that the existence of a negro family is, in a manner of speaking, a gratuitous gift of nature, bestowed without labour and without expence; hence, celibacy is almost unknown in Africa, and it is even so rare, that this state of life is considered as a kind of disgrace.

It ought to be remembered, that in the general situation of the negroes, on their natal soil, their life passes without work, without vexation, and without care. Always plunged into a pleasing apathy, exempt from the troubles and agitations which harrass Europe, and naturally sober and moderate, the negroes of Africa generally live to 65 and 70 years of age, experiencing only an imperceptible alteration in their health and strength, which arises principally from a perpetual perspiration, which is always too profuse; and when death arrives, they meet it without a murmur, perfectly resigned to that inevitable fate. They always submit, uncomplaining, to that fatality which, according to them, determines all the events of this life; and death, that final scene, is supported tranquilly and without dread.

I have seen many negroes of 65 years old, who had ten and twelve wives, and even more, all young and handsome, who brought forth children, the legitimacy of which was unsuspected. I have beheld these kind of sultans passing their lives in the most agreeable manner, preserving an uniform character of benevolence and goodness, a constant urbanity of temper, and enjoying a state of health really good.

It must, however, be confessed, that in those western countries which I have visited, the negroes hardly ever reach that period of old age which is sometimes known in Europe. This disadvantage, if it be one, is compensated by passing nearly all their life in a state of equal and permanent health, and enjoying the pleasures of youth at an advanced age. These precious gifts are owing to the moderation they usually observe in their manners, their regimen, and their pleasures. In Europe, the last state of old age is usually an anticipation of death; in Africa, the declining years of the negroes are merely an insensible exhaustion of life."

## Extracts from the Sierra Leone Gazette.

March, 1825.

Our timber trade goes on most flourishingly. In the past week five large vessels have left with full cargoes, some with teak and camwood alone, and others in addition to those articles, having on board very valuable consignments of elephant's teeth and gold; the importation of which latter article into the colony is now not only very considerable, but as regular as to any other settlement upon the coast; very few weeks passing over without a caravan of the itinerant [merchants] of the interior arriving with this valuable metal, in exchange for our manufactures. We have also to notice the departure of the *Posthumous* to ship timber at the settlement of St. George, on the banks of the river Cestos; and two arrivals from England, one of which, the *Sir Charles McCarthy*, proceeds to Cape Coast after discharging a part of her cargo; the other loads here.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ROYAL GAZETTE.

July, 1825.

"MR. EDITOR:—Preparatory to an intention, on a future occasion, of addressing you on "the policy and utility of establishing colonial agents on various parts of western Africa," I propose to make extracts from the Journals or relations of those who have visited the various trading settlements around this colony, and thus furnish some account of the state of the country. I now send you a few extracts with remarks, the former furnished by means of a trader just returned from the Gallinas.

'We arrived in the country (Gallinas or Fie) about the 19th of April, but did not get to our place of trade before the 3d of May. Found captain Thompson, an American, and a doctor, late of the schooner 'Bey,' keeping factories at the place called Camma Sundie (Bence Island) together; they seemed to have about 200 slaves. The doctor was understood to be a native of Ireland. At Taro were two other slave establishments under Thomas and Comat, both French masters; they had not more than forty slaves already brought in. Two similar establishments existed also at Tarrea. One person had lately arrived from Sierra Leone, where he had been carried in a prize; was said to be

a Spaniard, and now acting for Captain Bedro Blanco: this person had likewise about forty slaves; the other trader, a Frenchman, (name unknown) had not any slaves as yet brought in. Garsean, a Frenchman, at the head of another establishment lately formed, had no slaves in. Thompson soon after got in all his slaves, and, with those of the Bey, left the coast in a schooner; charging the doctor one half of the number of slaves carried as freight for the other half. On narrator's arrival in Gallinas there were one brig and two schooners at anchor off the Gallinas bar. Saw also four schooners at Shebar; no colours flying. Two French vessels arrived soon after, and brought up their samples to the Chief (Sheaka;) but in consequence of his demanding that 125 bars should be the price fixed for every prime slave, the Frenchmen made no trade there, but proceeded to Marno. About the 15th of May, a schooner or snow came off the bar from Liverpool in England; her name the 'Morning Star,'—made no trade, finding no produce on hand, but proceeded to Leeward. Soon after this two more Frenchmen arrived: their samples of goods were said not to be proper for the trade—rejected, and they proceeded also to Leeward. A French vessel about this time was lost at Cape Montserado; Comat went, and got part of the cargo into his own vessel. Another was also cast away at Marno; her slaves were on the eve of embarking, when she parted and was stranded. The slaves were delivered to the master, who passed them along the beach to Taro, getting them over the creeks by canoes. At this place the slaves suffered much for want of provisions, and, on one occasion, making a great outcry and noise, were visited by the captain: the slaves got hold of him, wounded and threw him on the ground, and by their efforts tore the head from the body of the unfortunate wretch! The whites ran into the bush, but not without several receiving wounds. Obtaining possession of arms and ammunition, the whites returned to the scene of confusion, and getting among the slaves, shot several. The one charged with the murder of the captain was taken, brought out, and shot. Many of the slaves took to the water, and several in irons perished; others got across the river, but were retaken by the Kroomen in the employ of the traders. Comat took the residue away in his vessel. About twenty-five or thirty days ago, a vessel (French) was cast away near the Kittim: the natives all along that shore are rioting in luxuries.

Rum is picked up in various directions, with other things of value. The captain of this vessel perished. On the 16th of July there were six slavers, all schooners, lying off Shebar.

‘There is a civil war raging in the Gallinas between Sheaka and Ki Marcoro. This is a great bar to the Gallinas slave-trade, for the people taken from each other cannot answer the demand. Ki Marcoro gets his supplies from Marrio. Not long ago, the captain of Sheaka’s men was mortally wounded while heading an attack against Ki Marcoro. Since then Sheaka’s men have attacked and taken Barra, the chief of which has been sacrificed in revenge for Sheaka’s captain.

‘Old King Jaga, of the Gallinas, is uncle to the chief Sheaka, ‘whom he has deputed to look after the country for him,’ being worn down by age. Sheaka, at his death, will be the king. This civil war of the Gallinas can be settled with comparative ease by Commo and Harry, chiefs and brothers of Goforo, by calling out the Purra, of which they are principal members. All men will thus be forced to assemble as brethren, and, while so assembled, then peace can be made, or the Purra will punish the obstinate party. It is the law of this institution that only a head brother, who has not joined either party, can so assemble them for such a purpose.

‘The energies of this country, otherwise great, are paralyzed by the slave-trade.

‘New rice is coming in, and is offered for sale in small quantities in the Gallinas. Camwood, of a better quality than the Kitim, is abundant, and would be brought for sale; but men find it much easier to catch and sell each other. As no strangers can get to the water-side from the interior, ivory is scarce.”

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## Extracts from Correspondence.

*From a Gentleman in Georgia. February 12, 1826.*

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of all the numbers of the ‘*African Repository*’, up to December last, inclusive; and that they have furnished me with much interesting and valuable information.

“In this place and vicinity, I have made great efforts to obtain

some subscribers for this work, but have not succeeded in getting any. The numbers which I have received, have been circulated, and read by a great many. And were it not for the leading politicians in this quarter, I have no doubt, this work would meet with some patronage among the more reflecting and humane portion of our citizens. But, to our political, as well as moral shame, be it spoken, there are some restless spirits among us, who are ever foreboding evil from every measure that relates to their black population; but, if they were to remain silent, some good citizens might countenance propositions to meliorate the condition of the slaves in our land. It is certainly time, however, that a favorable change were going on, in relation to the nature, objects and operations of the Colonization Society, in the public sentiment of Georgia. And those among us, who do really understand the true character of the institution, are not among the number who rail against its policy and proceedings. I trust the time is not remote, when the public men of this State, shall correctly appreciate the spirit and intention of those resolutions which, from time to time, have been adopted by sister States, declaring slavery to be a national evil, and that all the States ought to unite in the business and the burthen of removing it. Many of the excellent religious and benevolent institutions of the present day, are receiving great and general countenance and support in Georgia—a fact that augurs well for the Colonization system in time to come.”

*From a Gentleman in Hudson, New-York. March 7, 1826.*

“We have now a committee in Albany, charged with measures to establish, partly by legislative aid, from the common school fund, a school for coloured persons in this city. To improve their education, seems indispensable to the general object of removal. Our society has doubled its strength. If a vessel or two, were to be fitted out at New-York, we could easily forward \$200 worth of useful articles. The visit of a committee to Catskill, would probably produce \$100 more. I think it of importance, that the vessels should sail from different ports, New-Haven, Brunswick, N. J. &c. &c. or that at least when ready, they should by previous arrangement, touch at such places. Much produce would thus be received, and we should get the best of our coloured population for early settlers.”

*From a Gentleman in Alabama. March, 1826.*

"I will thank you to send me the periodical work of the Colonization Society, from the commencement, with the constitution, and such information as might be required, should I deem it practicable to raise an Auxiliary Society in this part of our country. Though I am at a distance from you, yet, sir, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that the most sanguine hopes of the society, may be more than realised."

*From the Secretary of a Benevolent Society of Female Friends in North Carolina.*

"We are very sensible that females can do but little, but we do not want that little lost, if it can but assist in relieving one poor mortal who is in distress. Altho' some of us find it very difficult to support our own families, yet we are willing to throw in our mite. We have formed ourselves into a benevolent society, and we find there are many cases where the hand of charity may be extended. We beg you will accept this small sum (five dollars) and with it our sincerest wishes for your success and the growth of your colony."

*From a Gentleman in Fredericksburg, Va. March 14, 1826.*

"Enclosed is a list of the officers of our Auxiliary Society, which is now in successful operation. It will probably not be a very numerous association for some time to come, but I hope we shall render some aid to the cause."

*From a gentleman in Vermont. March, 1826.*

"This (the Colonization Society) is a noble institution, and is gaining favor in the affections of the people in this region. Our Heavenly Father has set his seal of approbation to it, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

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## Mementos.

We regard the year before us as one of immense interest to our cause. The objects at which we aim, have extensively attracted public attention; our plans, operations, and hopes are known to



the community, and it seems reasonable to expect, as it is certainly desirable to know, the public will in relation to them. Aware that the greatness of their design renders its full accomplishment impossible, without the powers of the States and the Nation, and that its political expediency and necessity are not less obvious than its humanity and justice, the society has resolved to appeal to the individual States and to Congress, for requisite aid and protection. They hope to be sustained in their application, by the intelligence and moral sense of the people.

They know too well the obstacles which have impeded the progress of all similar enterprises, to expect immediate and adequate success, while the history of the ultimate triumphs of such enterprises, will not allow them to despair. They look to the Ministers of religion—the watchmen of the church—the guardians of public morals—the expounders of human rights and social duties—the reprovers of unrighteousness—the friends of man, be he civilized or rude, bond or free, for their wakeful influence, and most vigorous endeavours. They ask them, in their individual capacity and their associate character, to give their countenance and patronage to a plan, connected no less with the interests of christianity, than with the relief of temporal misery, and the stability and honour of our nation.—Especially and earnestly do they solicit these Ministers, to regard the anniversary of our independence as an appropriate occasion, for explaining the objects of the American Colonization Society, and receiving contributions to its funds. How much might be effected by this institution, were the churches unanimously to express their charity towards it, on that day? Heaven prompt them to this beneficence!

The editors of religious and literary journals will allow us to suggest, that much depends upon the course they may pursue in reference to our cause. Their past approbation has been peculiarly encouraging, and strengthens our confidence in their future support. They will not forget, that our operations hitherto, must be considered only as preliminary to those of a higher and more extended character, demanding general influence, and accumulated means. We hope they will early recommend the proposed UNION OF THE CHURCHES IN AN EFFORT TO AID OUR OBJECT ON THE FOURTH OF JULY.

In the cause of missions, and in most of the benevolent projects of the age, the ladies have acted a noble part. A sense of the privileges conferred by christianity upon their sex, has produced becoming expressions of attachment to its truths and its author, and those sentiments of kindness which are instinctive in their bosoms, refined and governed by devotional feeling, have rendered them most quick to discern, most correct to estimate, and most prompt to apply the remedy to human sufferings. Their moral judgments are seldom erroneous, because not founded upon selfish calculations, but upon the dictates of conscience and the heart. The American Colonization Society, however, we regret to say; has been honoured with less of their charity than the other humane and religious institutions of our land. The reason is evident; we have failed to offer it as we should have done, to their consideration; to represent the numerous claims it has upon them, and to seek, under the authority of principles ever recognized as paramount by christian ladies, the patronage which, thus sought, they have never denied. A few christian females, intimately acquainted with our society, have anticipated our wishes, and that they may not stand alone, we venture to stir up the "pure minds" of others, "by way of remembrance."

In the course of a few days, numerous distinguished christians, of all denominations, will assemble in New-York, to celebrate the anniversaries of various religious institutions. Shall Africa, injured, weeping Africa, be forgotten? We beg leave to suggest the propriety of adopting measures at that time, for the establishment of a seminary, in which persons of colour shall receive such education in letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, as may prepare them for usefulness in the African colony, and give them respect and influence among the African tribes. Such a school has long been in contemplation, and its existence would prove of incalculable benefit.

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### **From the United States Literary Gazette.**

From a review in this work, of a proposed plan for the emancipation of the slaves in this country, we make the following extract, although we must express the opinion, that among the free people of colour are many very respectable and truly pious

individuals. Such indeed are most of those who now constitute the African colony:

"The labours of the Colonization Society, ~~however~~ appear to us highly deserving of praise. The blacks, whom they carry from the country, belong to a class far more noxious than the slaves themselves. They are free without any sense of character to restrain them, or regular means of obtaining an honest livelihood. Most of the criminal offences committed in the southern States are chargeable to them, and their influence over the slaves is pernicious and alarming. They corrupt their characters, and inflame them against their masters. If ever a servile war is kindled, it will be by their means.) The labours of the society, therefore, are highly useful. A certain amount of evil is removed, and the virulence of the remaining part diminished. For the facilities afforded to the free blacks for quitting the country, must render them less dissatisfied and less prone to mischief. It is highly necessary, however, that attention should be paid to their education in this country, if we wish to establish useful and permanent settlements in Africa. These settlements, in a few years, will outgrow the control of their agents, and then must be left to take care of themselves, which they cannot do, unless the settlers have been previously educated. If the society will apply themselves seriously to this object, and augment the size and number of their settlements, as their means increase, they will materially diminish our present evils and dangers, will lay the basis of a large, though gradual emancipation, and advance the cause of African civilization. These noble objects they can accomplish, and in so doing will render essential service to their country, even though they should fail to effect the entire removal of the slave population."

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## Instance of Affection.

Here let me make the reader acquainted with Taliba, my favourite negro, who served me during the whole of my residence in Africa with such zeal, attachment, and fidelity, as is rarely met with in a European servant, and particularly, united in such a manner as they were in my negro.

I was favoured by chance beyond my fondest hopes, when she presented me with young Taliba, who was a free negro, about twenty years old, and the only son of his mother, who was a free negress also.

He had been brought up in the house of M. de Repentigny, the former governor of the Senegal. He had been recalled; and on returning to France, requested me to take this young man, giving me the strongest recommendation, and at the same time assuring me, that I should be perfectly satisfied with his conduct.

Taliba was not my slave; his parents were free; he lost his father when he was ten years old; and his mother, who was his only relative, was supported in her poverty by the stipend which her son received for his services;

she loved him tenderly, and he was deserving of her affection, from the attachment and respect which he had for her.

Taliba, now in the flower of his youth, was of an elevated stature; his body was well proportioned, and the charms of his physiognomy were heightened by handsome features, large but mild eyes, and an ever-smiling mouth, which was adorned with beautiful teeth.

He possessed all the qualities of a good servant; for he was active and brave, impatient to obey my commands, anxious to guess what I wanted even before I spoke, and he was sober and faithful.

He was such an excellent servant, that besides his own occupations, he also performed those of a little negro boy which I had bought, and who consequently passed his life in sleeping and playing.

Taliba soon perceived the affection which I had for a fine wolf dog, white as snow, and one of the handsomest of his species. I had brought him with me from Europe, he was singularly attached to me, and I called him Loulou. Taliba watched over this animal with the greatest attention, and so conciliated his love, that it was impossible to separate one from the other.

When I was preparing for my voyage to survey those countries to the south of the Senegal, we knew that the journey would last many months; that I should be forced to proceed by land to Goree, and there embark on board a corvette, which would be waiting for me. Taliba had never yet quitted isle St. Louis, and to him, an embarkation and the long voyage, were of great importance. The blacks always feel a degree of mistrust with regard to Europeans; they are even apprehensive of being carried away and reduced to slavery.

But Taliba feared nothing: he loved me and reposed an entire confidence in my character; he would have followed me to the end of the world, and having explained to him the nature of my voyage, and particularly that he would be always with me, he did not in the least suspect my sincerity, or my attachment for him; even the pleasure of seeing new countries, and other people, was to him a very flattering idea.

But it was not so with his mother the good Kourana, who was in her fortieth year, who loved her son with tenderness, with adoration, and who would have died a thousand times to save the life of her dear Taliba. The tenderness of the mother, saw in the departure of her child, nought but dangers, misfortunes, and an eternal separation.

It is a hard task to calm the heart of a mother; and that of Kourana was impressed with all the apprehensions and dread that could result from the prejudices which the blacks feel relative to the probity of the Europeans.

As soon as her son informed her of my intended departure, and his determination to follow me, her distraction and grief were at their height; she threw herself at my feet, embraced them, bathed them with her tears, and begged me not to take her son away.

Taliba also wept; he clasped his mother's hands, and begged her to permit him to go, and not to separate him from me.

He said every thing to her, with a singular eloquence, that could calm her;

and he succeeded in impressing her with the same confidence for my character, as he himself had.

This affecting scene wrung my very heart, and I was divided whether to yield to the fears and grief of the mother, or whether to indulge my wish of retaining Taliba with me.

This amiable young man at length, by his tears, and his caresses, calmed the apprehensions of the tenderest of mothers: "*master is my father,*" he exclaimed with emphasis; "*me cannot quit him; me return, and bring Kourana fine mats, cloth, amber, and gold; me make thee rich, Kourana, and master will be the cause of it.*"

At last, though not without much trouble, we obtained a permission, which it is true, cost this affectionate woman many pangs; but it was free and unconstrained. I however rewarded her on the spot, by some presents, for that consent, and that proof of confidence, with which I was overwhelmed, and even flattered.

But when the moment of separation arrived, their mutual adieus, were beyond description. Kourana held her son in her arms, above a quarter of an hour; she watered him with her tears; Taliba wept also, but he wished to follow me, and his tears were the consequence only of that grief, which the distressed state of his mother had excited.

There was a very obvious paleness, which had overspread the face of this good woman; at length, after many efforts, she quitted her son, came and embraced my knees, and exclaimed with a solemn and impressive voice: "*I leave Taliba to thee: be a father to him; you promised to bring him to me again; and Kourana will die if you do not keep your word; but you will be faithful. Promise me once more.*"

She then arose, and lifting her hands to heaven, implored its protection for Taliba and myself. Her son was on his knees, and kissed the feet of his mother; she blessed him, and me also. I embraced him, and pressed his heart to my bosom: we entered the boat which was to convey us across the river, with full and agonized hearts; leaving on the shore we quitted, the worthy Kourana, with her eyes fixed on us, and suffused with tears.

GOLBERRY.

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## Manumissions.

The venerable David Shriver, one of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of Frederick county, Maryland, who died in January last, ordered, by will, that all his slaves, exceeding thirty in number, should be emancipated, and that proper provision should be made for the comfortable support of the infirm and aged, and for the instruction of the young in reading, writing and arithmetic, and in some art or trade by which they might acquire, more readily, the means of support.

It is stated in the New York Observer, that a "respectable

gentleman, who left Virginia a few weeks since, informs us that Col. Smith, an old revolutionary officer, and a member of the Methodist church, lately residing in Sussex county, Va. died about the 20th of February, leaving directions in his will for the emancipation of all his slaves, 70 or 80 in number, and bequeathing five or six thousand dollars to defray the expense of transporting them to the African colony."

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## Formation of Auxiliary Societies.

We announce with great pleasure, the organization of an auxiliary society in Fredericksburg, on the 15th February last. We understand that it is in successful operation, and have every reason to expect it will exert an important influence, and render much aid to the general cause. The following are the officers:

*John T. Lomax*, PRESIDENT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*John Gray*,      *Daniel Grinnan*,

*John Scott*,      *Robert Lewis*.

*Rev. Samuel B. Wilson*, CORRESPONDING SEC'Y.

*William F. Gray*, RECORDING SEC'Y & TREASURER.

MANAGERS.

*Rev. Edward C. McGuire*,      *Murray Forbes*,

*Dr. Wm. Browne*,      *John Hart*,

*William A. Knox*,      *John S. Wellford*,

*Reuben T. Thom*,      *Samuel Gordon*,

*Philip Harrison*,      *Fayette Johnston*,

*Wm. C. Beale*,      *Horace Marshall*.

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A similar institution has been revived in Alexandria, to which, it will be seen, we are indebted for a handsome donation. The officers of the society are,—

*Rev. J. Cornelius*, PRESIDENT.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

*M. Lippitt*,      *J. T. Wheat*.

MANAGERS.

*Wm. Gregory*,      *John Withers*,

*Thos. Smith*,      *Isaac Cannel*,

*Thos. Sandford*,      *Jas. B. Nicholls*,

*Jas. Douglas*,      *George Johnson*.

*Chas. Page*, TREASURER,—*N. R. Fitzhugh*, SEC'Y.

Another auxiliary has been formed in Georgetown, D. C. and a valuable donation been remitted by it to the parent society. The following officers have been elected:

*Walter Smith*, PRESIDENT,  
*Jno. I. Stull*, SECRETARY,  
*Frs. T. Seawell*, TREASURER.

MANAGERS.

<i>Danl. Kurtz</i> ,	<i>Wm. Jewell</i> ,
<i>T. Corcoran, jun.</i>	<i>Wm. Morton</i> ,
<i>Henry Addison</i> ,	<i>James Thomas</i> ,
<i>James King</i> ,	<i>Rich'd. Cruikshank</i> ,
<i>Jno. Pickerell</i> ,	<i>Henry Gaither</i> ,
<i>James Thomson</i> ,	<i>Isaac Owens</i> .

## Error Corrected.

We committed an error in our last annual report, by acknowledging the receipt of \$170 from the auxiliary society of *Massachusetts*, which should have been put to the credit of the *Vermont* society. In a note appended to the same report, it was stated, that since its origin, the Vermont society had contributed to the funds of the parent institution, \$1,529. This was the sum mentioned in the report of the managers of that very respectable society, submitted in October, 1825, but we have more recently been informed, that the whole amount which has been given by it, is \$1,838 94.

*Donations, subscriptions, &c. to the American Colonization Society, from 26th January, to 30th March, 1826.—viz:*

From the fire side of M. A. & T. C.—children in Va.	\$	24
Joseph Avery, Esq. Conway, Massachusetts,		10
Repository, - - - - -		78 50
proceeds of collections by Mr. D. Hale from Mr.		
Niles, in Massachusetts, - - -		1,267 99
Do. by Mr. John P. Haven, N. Y. -		37
John Gray, Esq. of Fredericksburg, Va.		50
John B. Carr, Esq. of Charlottesville, Va.		11

Carried forward,           \$1,478 49

<i>Brought forward,</i>		\$1,478 49
From A. H. Powell, Esq. of Winchester, Va.		5
Rev. Mr. Nevins, of Baltimore, - -		3
G. C. - - - - -		5
collections at a meeting in Alexandria, -		30 31
a lady in Virginia, - - -		50
George Johnson, Esq. of Alexandria, annual subscription, - - - -		8
W. Hooper, Esq. of Chapel Hill, N. C.		5
Doctor Caldwell, of do. -		10
collections in Rev. Dr. Jennings' Presbyterian church, Washington, Pa. per Hon. Mr. Jennings, - - - -		14
collections at a meeting at Dr. Laurie's church, in Washington, D. C. -		10 36
Captain Gardner, of do. - - -		1
Auxiliary Society, Hudson, N. Y. per J. Powers, Esq. Treasurer, - - - -		40
the Richmond and Manchester Auxiliary Society, per B. Brand, Esq. Treasurer, -		107
collections in Baptist congregation, Olive Street, N. Y. 4th July, 1825, per B. Crosby, Esq.		18 10
proceeds of Doct. Murray's sermon, per do.		6 20
Auxiliary Society, Montgomery county, Va. per Philip Cecil, Esq. Treasurer, -		10
do. at Alexandria, per C. Page, Esq. Treas'r.		105
the Auxil'y. Colonization Society, Georgetown, D. C. per Francis T. Seawell, Treasurer, -		116 10
To constitute Rev. D. Porter, D. D. Catskill, N. Y. a member for life, per ladies of his society, -		30
From collections in Episcopal church, Kenhawa C. H. Va. in July last, - - -		10
Donation from Female Benevolent Society of Jamestown, N. C. per Elizabeth Mendenhall, -		5
Donation from a lady in Georgetown, D. C.		50
do. from Asahel C. Washburn, - - -		1
From Repository at sundry times, - - -		16
D. Hale, Boston, partly collected by Mr. Niles, -		344 18



THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

APRIL, 1826.

[No. II.

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REVIEW OF THE  
**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**  
(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8.)

IN our former number, we traced the progress of Granville Sharp's exertions up to the decision in the case of Somerset, which settled the principles of law, on the question of liberty or slavery in England. We cannot render a more just and eloquent tribute of respect to those who assisted Mr. Sharp, in this cause, or to Mr. Sharp himself, than by quoting the words of Mr. Clarkson, in his History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade:

"Thus ended the great cause of Somerset. The eloquence displayed in it, by those who were engaged on the side of liberty, was perhaps never exceeded on any occasion; and the names of the counsellors, Davy, Glynn, Hargrave, Mansfield, and Alleyne, ought always to be remembered with gratitude. For when we consider in how many crowded courts they pleaded, and the number of individuals in these whose minds they enlightened, and whose hearts they interested in the subject, they are certainly to be put down as no small instruments in the promotion of it. But chiefly to *him* (Granville Sharp) under Divine Providence, are we to give the praise, who became the first great actor in it; who devoted his time, his talents, and his substance, to this christian undertaking; and by whose laborious researches, the very pleaders themselves were instructed and benefitted. By means of his almost incessant vigilance and attention, and unwearied efforts, the poor African ceas-

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ed to be hunted in our streets, as a beast of prey. Miserable as the roof might be under which he slept, he slept in security. He walked by the side of the stately ship, and he feared no dangers in her hold. Nor ought we, as Englishmen, to be less grateful to that distinguished individual, than the African ought to be upon this occasion. To him we owe the restoration of the beauty of our constitution, this prevention of the continuance of our national disgrace."

This decision produced a burst of joy among the "anxious friends of human happiness," in England. "The name of Granville Sharp became the emblem of charity; he stood the acknowledged and victorious patron of African liberty." A friendly intercourse now commenced between him and the respectable society of Friends, in this country. This benevolent sect had long been concerned to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, and the intelligence that British philanthropy was at work for the same end, induced them to desire a correspondence with Mr. Sharp. An abridgment of his tract on "the injustice of slavery," had been published in Philadelphia, and widely and expeditiously circulated. On the very day when the cause of Somerset was decided, Mr. Sharp received a letter from Anthony Benezet, with whom he was closely united in spirit, and whose memory will live while virtue and benevolence are respected among men. This excellent Quaker had established a free school in Philadelphia, for the education of the coloured people, and was ever prompt to plead in their behalf. It is a singular fact, that Granville Sharp, while defending himself against the prosecution instituted in consequence of the protection afforded by him to Jonathan Strong, accidentally found a work of Benezet's, and republished it immediately, and that his own tract (abridged) on slavery, was reprinted in Philadelphia, by Benezet, while entirely ignorant of the compliment which had been paid to him by Mr. Sharp. The first letter of Anthony Benezet to the subject of these memoirs, bears date May, 1772. It evinces the utmost earnestness in the cause of humanity, and particularly insists upon the importance of representing the iniquitous nature and effects of the slave trade, to the *King and both Houses of Parliament*:

"I doubt not," he observes, "but thou wilt, upon enquiry, find more well minded people ready to cry you 'God speed,' in this weighty service, than you are aware of. The most solid amongst all dissenters, particularly the Presbyterians, would be well pleased to see an end put to the slave trade,

and many, to slavery itself. The people of New-England have made a law that nearly amounts to a prohibition of the trade, and I am informed, have proposed to the Governor and council, that all negroes born in the country, should be free at a certain age.

"The people of Maryland and Virginia, are so convinced of the inexpediency, if not of the iniquity, of any further importation of negroes, that a prudent person who spent some time in these provinces, tells me, he thinks ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to Parliament, against any farther import."

The reply of Mr. Sharp, is remarkable for that soberness and impartiality with which he was accustomed to view every subject connected with human rights, and the relations of human society:

"You mention the information you have received from Maryland and Virginia, that ten or twenty thousand people would freely join in a petition to Parliament against the further importation of negroes. Such a petition would retrieve, in some respects, the honour of those colonies, and be a glorious proof, that they are not destitute of christian and social principles; and it would probably lay the foundation for a total abolition of that most abominable branch of the African trade, the buying and selling of men; yet as I have mentioned above, respect must be had to the *rights of the colonies*; and a petition from thence, *if addressed to Parliament*, ought to relate to the *slave trade* (with its bad effects and consequences) *in general*, and not merely to the importation of slaves into the colonies, because the colonies have a right, *themselves*, to prohibit such importation, respectively, in their own assemblies, with the king's concurrence; which they will be sure to obtain in this matter, if it is asked by a majority."

In this same year, the House of Burgesses, in Virginia, implored the interposition of the king, to prevent the further introduction of slaves into the colonies. They pronounce the slave trade most inhuman, and express their apprehensions that its continuance will endanger the very existence of his majesty's American dominions. Mr. Sharp's reply to Benezet, inspired the Quakers with new energy; his letter was printed, extensively circulated, and read with avidity. The correctness of the principle maintained by him concerning the *rights of the colonies*, was at once perceived, and the mode of application to the government, recommended by him, adopted. "It deserves remark," says Mr. Hoare, "that in this, as in other cases, the principle on which he grounded his actions was so extensive, as to embrace much more than its immediate object, and hence, when the increasing animosities in the colonies provoked them to hostile conflict, the same doctrine was forcibly brought forward *in all points*, and the

whole resistance of America to England, stood on the same foundation as that, which Granville Sharp had laid down, for the regulation of their slave laws." The principle to which we allude, was clearly stated by Mr. Sharp, in his letter to lord North, and is this, "That no Parliament can have a just right to enact laws for places which it does not *represent*."

And here, perhaps the unity, simplicity, and consequent universality of *christian principle*, merits our observation. The doctrines of expediency are varying as the changes, and contingent as the accidents of life. They destroy the confidence of human intercourse, weaken the bands of social union, and often subvert the foundations of civil society. What violations of natural and divine law, what crimes against individuals and states, have not been committed under their acknowledged authority? They have furnished pleas for every abuse of power, and apologies for the most atrocious deeds recorded in history. But the christian rule, "do unto others as you would that others should do unto you," does not allow of misapprehension, and cannot change. It is adapted to every understanding, and to all human relations; applicable alike in all circumstances, and at all times. It is the great law of order, which, undisturbed in its operation, would harmoniously adjust all the interests of the world, and guide its whole moral machinery quietly, peacefully, and majestically, to the accomplishment of the sublime purposes of human happiness, for which it was intended.

The opinions of Mr. Sharp, concerning the rights and duties of the colonies, appear to have exerted a powerful influence in America; and though it may not be easy at this day, to ascertain exactly their degree and extent, yet the plainness and explicitness with which his sentiments were expressed, and the zeal with which they were promulgated by the society of Friends, induce the belief, that they essentially contributed to the establishment of those principles which constitute the foundation of our national independence.

Soon after the famous decision of lord Mansfield, in the case of Somerset, the West-India traders sought to introduce a bill into the House of Commons, for the purpose of legitimating slavery in England. Mr. Sharp saw, at once, the sad consequences which must flow from the passage of such a bill, and vigilantly,

and manfully opposed it. The motion to bring forward the bill, was overruled, and the projectors of it of course defeated.

About this time, a new object presented itself to the benevolence of Mr. Sharp. That the English government should propose to extirpate the poor Carribees, in the island of St. Vincents, aroused his indignation. The French had been unable to conquer these people, who possessed the best lands on the island, and yet presumed to cede the whole island to the English; while the latter, by virtue of this futile title, proposed to compel the Carribees, to abandon all their possessions. To prevent such flagrant cruelty and injustice, Granville Sharp addressed an impressive letter to lord Dartmouth, his majesty's Secretary of State, urging him, as a conscientious man, "to use his utmost endeavours, to prevent the nation from being stained by the horrid crimes of oppression, robbery, and premeditated murder, which must occasion the withdrawing of God's blessings from the king's family and the kingdom."

"The blood that will probably be spilt," he adds, "on both sides, must somewhere be imputed; for open and avowed injustice, and wilful murder, cannot be vindicated before God, by any deceitful sophistry about the necessity of such measures, to produce the nation's good, or to maintain the prosperity of our colonies; because good and evil can never change places, and because *we must not do evil that good may come.*

"These are the first and most fundamental principles of good government; so that statesmen and politicians, who thus venture to dispense with them, ought to be reminded, that such measures not only accumulate a national, but a *personal* guilt, which they must one day personally answer for, when they shall be compelled to attend with common robbers and murderers, expecting an eternal doom; for the nature of their crimes is essentially the same, and God is no respecter of persons."

To this letter lord Dartmouth made reply, and invited Mr. Sharp to an interview the next day. He then gave his promise, to speak in behalf of the injured Carribees, if he should have a favourable opportunity.

In a letter addressed by Mr. Sharp to the Bishop of London, in 1795, he states, concisely, the principal events connected with his efforts in the African cause, and candidly acknowledges, that the guilt and odium of continuing the slave trade, must be imputed to the English government. As the historical facts related in this letter are valuable, and as they exhibit the connection between the efforts to suppress the slave trade, and those political

differences which finally dissolved the bonds which held the American colonies and England; we present it to our readers:

"Mr Lorr,

"An accidental circumstance about thirty years ago, led me to vindicate a poor negro boy, (without having the least apprehension of the extraordinary consequences) before the chief magistrate in London; by whose authority the boy was released from the poultry compter, where he had been illegally confined in order to be shipped a slave for the West Indies. This release drew upon me a prosecution, by a Jamaica planter, for £200 damages; whereby I was compelled (though I had engaged the best advice that the profession could afford me) to study the law in my own defence, in order to oppose a joint opinion of the late lords Hardwicke and Talbot, given in 1729, which my attorney brought to me, in order to show the hopeless state of any defence against the impending action; urging also the constant practice of the court of King's bench, under lord Mansfield, who strenuously persisted in delivering up all runaway slaves to their masters. These formidable difficulties produced a very serious anxiety for my own case, which fairly superseded my natural aversion to researches in law books; and the action being held in suspense over my head, from term to term, for about two years, I was enabled, in that time, by a careful examination of the first principles of law, to demonstrate the extreme injustice and dangerous tendency of tolerating slavery, and of admitting the least claim of private property in the persons of men in England; whereby not only my antagonist was non-suited, but the same doctrine was also effectually urged to relieve many other poor negroes from slavery.

"The tract which I had drawn up and printed in 1769, was soon afterwards reprinted in America by Mr. Anthony Benezet, a worthy old Quaker at Philadelphia, whose other publications had already begun to awaken the attention of the Americans to the injustice and danger of tolerating slavery.

"In April, 1772, the assembly of Virginia stated, in a respectful petition to his majesty, the great inhumanity of the slave trade, and their fears that 'it would endanger the very existence of his majesty's American dominions.'

"This warning was very remarkable, if we consider from whence it came—from the first colony, the English ever had in America, which had not long been involved in the English guilt of tolerating slavery; and it was still more remarkable in the event, for the American colonies existed a very little time longer as dominions of his majesty: so that this Virginian warning against the slave trade is fairly entitled, by the event, to be deemed prophetic, especially as the doctrine of the remonstrance was just and true.\*

"In the same year, 1772, lord Mansfield very candidly gave up his former opinion and practice, respecting the supposed legality of delivering up runa-

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\* "The refusal of the British government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves from among them by law, was afterwards enumerated among the public reasons for separating from the mother country."

*Clarkson's History of the Abolition.*

way slaves to their masters, and reversed the joint opinion of the lords Hardwicke and Talbot, in giving judgment in the case of Somerset, a poor negro whom I supported against the claims of his master.

"About the same time too, or soon afterwards, the freeholders and inhabitants of the counties of Somerset and Essex, in New-Jersey, presented petitions to the governor, council, and representatives of the province, against the slave trade. By the petition from the latter county, the assembly was requested 'to obtain an alteration of his majesty's instruction to his excellency the governor, relating to the African trade, so that his excellency may be at liberty to consent to such laws for the preventing the future importation into this province as to the legislature may appear just and reasonable.' The inhabitants of the city and county of Philadelphia, also petitioned their assembly against the slave trade, expressly citing the example set them by the province of Virginia, in petitioning the king, 'from a deep sensibility of the danger and pernicious consequences which will be attendant on a continuation of this iniquitous traffic.'

"But the assembly of Pennsylvania, suspecting the partiality for slavery on this side of the Atlantic, postponed their address to the throne, and, instead of it, transmitted an act of assembly for the king's assent, whereby they laid a heavy duty on the head of every slave that should be imported; hoping that the gain of an American tax (for which in all other cases the administration were so remarkably sanguine) might perhaps overbalance that partiality which they so justly suspected. But they were unhappily mistaken, for this seasonable attempt to discourage the crying national sin was rejected: so that the guilt of persisting in that monstrous wickedness, demands indeed an atonement or repentance, but not from America.\*

"Soon afterwards, I was desired by a letter from America, to inquire for an answer to the Virginia petition; and I waited on the Secretary of State, and was informed by himself, that the petition was received, but that he apprehended no answer would be given.—*Thus I had traced the evil to its source.*"

The friends of freedom in America, now began highly to estimate the character of Mr. Sharp; they sought his acquaintance, and complied with his advice in some of their important measures. He received a respectful and complimentary letter from Dr. Rush, and enjoyed intercourse with Franklin. In a communication to America, he had avowed the "opinion, that the British parliament had nothing to do with the internal laws of the colonies;" and the strength and clearness with which this opinion was expressed, was highly agreeable to the prevailing temper of the people of this country. They accepted his arguments, circulated

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"In a letter of still later date, he adds, "the assembly at New-York found such another bill, and the assembly of North-Carolina proposed sending a petition to the king, of the same purport as that of Virginia."

his letters, and adopted his doctrine as a constitutional rule for their proceedings. In reference to the investigations of Mr. Sharp, concerning the political rights and duties of nations, Mr. Hoare makes the following observations:

"To a man disposed by nature to contemplate boldly the most abstruse sources of universal truth, and eminently endowed with faculties for such a purpose, sufficient opening had been given to lead him forward in the interesting track of human liberty. With the same eagerness, with which he had sought in English statute books for the defence of individual freedom, he now turned to investigate, by a more extensive research, the natural and political rights of nations in general. The immediate motive was still the love of the *English character*. The 'duty of an Englishman,' says his manuscript, to maintain the just limits of law according to the *English constitution of State*, impelled me in the year 1774, to publish another tract, viz: 'A declaration of the people's natural rights to a share in the legislature, which is the fundamental principle of the British constitution.'

"Of this declaration he says, in another note (July 27, 1774,) that he gave to Dr. Franklin, two hundred and fifty copies, which were sent to America, the same day; and it will presently appear that it was there reprinted, in many different provinces, within the course of the same year.

"Various circumstances thus gradually led him to feel the most lively interest in the causes, which then began to estrange the British colonies in America, from the parent country; and the result of negotiations, in which he was warmly solicited by the Americans, to take a share, was, a full persuasion of his mind in favour of the colonists, who, he conceived, were pleading their natural and legal rights.

"In consequence of this persuasion, he necessarily considered the war which was now on foot against their principles, as unjustifiable on the part of England. He was shortly going to give proof of the sincerity of his sentiments."

In tracing thus far the history of Mr. Sharp's life, we have been particularly struck with the candour, sincerity and CONSCIENTIOUSNESS, which characterized all his actions. With him christian principle was law. To ascertain by this perfect rule, what was right, appears to have been the single aim of his understanding,—to pursue his own convictions of duty, the sole purpose of his heart.

(To be continued.)

## Remarks on the Dromedary.

[FROM GOLBERRY'S TRAVELS.]

Though the dromedary and the camel, which form but one species, is well known to every one, yet this quadruped is such



an extraordinary creature, and is so peculiarly adapted, by Divine Providence, for the service of man in the sandy deserts of Africa and Asia; it is so admirably organized for sustaining the burning atmosphere in which it is doomed to exist, and so wonderfully capable of the services which it is called upon to perform; able to endure that astonishing abstinence to which it is unceasingly condemned, that it would be impossible to omit the present opportunity of presenting a few remarks on this singular animal.

The Moors, in their oases of Zaara, rear a great many dromedaries, or, more properly speaking, camels, with one bunch or protuberance on the back; they have numerous troops of them, and dispose of them to the negroes, who might however rear them themselves, though they decline this, and purchase what they want from the Moors.

The species of the dromedary is the only kind known in this part of western Africa; the camel, with two bunches, is extremely rare there, and I have even reason to believe that it does not exist.

The slavery of the dromedary, and its domestic state, may be traced to the earliest ages of the world; for this animal is not to be found in its natural or savage state, and no where does it exist on the face of the earth, but with man, and in the service of man. It is not possible to decide, whether the dromedary or the camel may be considered as the type of the species, and which of them have retained its original conformation. But we may reasonably believe, that the dromedary or camel, with one bunch, is the primitive race, and that the camel with two, is a variety of the species which has arisen from more temperate and fertile climates than those in which the primitive race of the dromedary first breathed; and in fact, it is in the northern countries of Persia, India, and China, that the camel with two bunches is most numerously found.\* The primitive race of this animal is accustomed to that climate, but it undergoes some change in its form; and it is well worthy of remark, that the dromedary-camel, though a native of the hottest regions in the world, created and particularly destined, by its structure and organization, to exist

\* This species is called *Camelus Bactrianus*, and is very distinct from the other, not only in its external conformation, but also in its habits and uses.

in the burning deserts of Africa and Asia, between the eighteenth and thirty-fifth degree of north latitude, is nevertheless, by the care of man, brought to live, to procreate, and to labour, like a common beast of burthen among the Calmouks, at Orenberg, on the northern banks of the lake of Baykal, and in many other parts of Siberia, even to the fifty-third degree of north latitude, which is distant from its native country and climate near eight hundred leagues towards the north pole; and it is astonishing, that notwithstanding this considerable transposition, the camel still retains its strength, and has indeed experienced no transmutation except that of having two bunches instead of one.

I think, however, if we observe attentively the dromedary of Zaara and Arabia with the camel of the northern Tartars, we may trace some very obvious distinctions, not only in the perfection of their internal organization, but in the dryness and elasticity of their nerves and muscles, and in their capability of supporting at the same time the most astonishing abstinence, and the greatest fatigues.

His rigid course of instruction commences a month after his birth; from that moment the little being is separated from his mother, who is no longer allowed to approach him but at stated hours, while the unfortunate youngling is thus compelled to learn abstinence; they permit it to have only a part of the milk, destined for him by nature, and which is in abundant profusion in the dugs of the mother. He dares not drink but seldom, and then very sparingly, and from the earliest days of his existence he is taught sobriety.

Soon after this they condemn him to prison and to torture; his legs are tied under his belly, and he is placed in this position, in order that he may acquire a habit of assuming it; for it is the one which he must adopt when he receives and discharges his burthen; his body is covered with carpet, or a piece of a tent, which only leaves the head and neck free, and that he may not move or rise up, the borders of this covering is fastened down by a variety of hard and heavy substances.

In this cruel prison, he passes four months; but severe as it undoubtedly is, it becomes the means of superinducing upon him a habit of squatting down, which is for ever afterwards natural. When these four months of torture have elapsed, the young camels are all of them enclosed together in a park; here they are

attended twice a day, by children from nine to ten years old, who carry them their food, which is only the milk of the female, mingled with water. It is asserted that the young dromedaries soon learn to recognize the children of their master, and whenever they see them, they immediately assemble round them.

When they reach the enclosure, where these young dromedaries are confined, they hold in one hand the vase which contains the milk, and in the other a little switch, with which they strike the animals on the legs; at this signal they immediately kneel down, and they soon learn to assume this situation at the simple sound of a whip. In fact, the obedience of the dromedary, in taking this attitude at the slightest intimation of his master all the rest of his life, is truly admirable.

At the tender age of six or seven months, they accustom the young animal to sleep with a burthen on his back; the weight of this is augmented in proportion to its strength and age; and it is thus they teach them to become, according to Buffon, "a living carriage, which is sometimes left loaded for many days together, without a single moment of relaxation."

The Moors choose the smallest and most active of their dromedaries for training to the course and the field; it is even probable that they have two distinct races, one of which is smaller than the other; the manner in which they train them for the course, is by making them run with horses, and this rivalry produces a considerable degree of emulation.

The Moorish horses, which are very spirited, always get the start in the commencement of the race; but after a few hours, the horse becomes exhausted from fatigue; he is compelled to slacken his pace, and finally to stop; the dromedary, on the contrary, pursues his road, can continue it during twenty hours, and is able to resume it for four successive days, during which time he passes over a space of 240 leagues, and this with a very quick pace.

On the occasions of extraordinary travelling, the dromedaries are nourished with balls made of millet, mixed with gum; they generally give to each animal three of these balls in the morning, and the same quantity at night; they do not weigh altogether more than two pounds: and this food, which is employed only upon particular occasions, satisfies, during four-and-twenty hours, this abstemious animal, and maintains him in perfect vigour and activity.

The dromedaries employed for burthen and travelling have only a simple halter; but those for the course and the field, which are frequently mounted, have, instead of a bit, a ring or buckle passed through the skin above the nostrils, which always remains there; to this they fasten the reins, which they use to regulate the movements of the animal.

During a journey by land, which I made in 1786, from the island of the Senegal to that of Goree, and of which further notice will be taken in some succeeding chapters, I traversed one of these uninhabited and vacant countries, which are frequented only at intervals by man. I travelled for five days over a desert region enclosed on one side by the solitary ocean, and on the other by arid and uncultivated downs, where nature is absolutely destitute and exposed; where the heat of the solar rays is actually insupportable; where a sandy and sullen horizon presents to the traveller neither trees which may afford him shelter, nor a source of pure water, which may calm his thirst, nor any individual object which can recall the idea of living nature.\*

\* The poetical reader will compare this description of Colberry with the beautiful and impressive lines of the sometimes sublime and neglected Colins:

"In silent horror, o'er the boundless waste,  
The driver Hassan with his camels past;  
One cruise of water on his back he bore,  
And his light scrip contained a scanty store;  
A fan of painted feathers in his hand  
To guard his shaded face from scorching sand.  
The sultry sun had gained the middle sky,  
And not a tree and not an herb was nigh;  
The beasts with pain their dusty way pursue,  
Shrill roar'd the winds, and dreary was the view!"

"Ye mute companions of my toils, that bear  
In all my griefs a more than equal share!  
Here, where no springs in murmurs break away,  
Or moss-crown'd fountains mitigate the day,  
In vain ye hope the green delight to know,  
Which plains more bless'd or verdant vales bestow;  
Here rocks alone, and tasteless sands are found,  
And faint and sickly winds for ever howl around."

"O cease my fears! All frantic as I go,  
When thought creates unnumber'd scenes of woe,

In these situations, we almost imagine ourselves as totally cut off from the civilized world; we feel a strong sensation of melancholy, which I endeavoured to dissipate with those who shared my fate.

I had with me a number of dromedaries, and in the silence of this solitude I observed and pitied their unhappy fate; children of a steril earth, born amidst the sands of the desert, and destined to become wanderers all their lives.

It was here I admired the obedience, the resignation, and the unalterable patience, of this animal, the first companion of man, and his oldest servant; for his servitude may be dated from the earliest existence of the world, and from that period ungrateful man has exercised over him all the harshness of his inexorable character, has subjected him to the yoke of his tyrannical authority, and condemned him to eternal servitude.

My dromedaries travelled at their usual rate, but I wished to know also their different paces. This animal has three; the walk, the trot, and the gallop. Its pace is a kind of amble, which fatigues the rider very much, unless he has been long used to it. When he walks, he advances nearly together, the two feet of the same side, and then those of the other, from which results a kind of equilibrium extremely harsh; the loins of the rider suffer considerably from these repeated joltings, and I was unable to sustain the fatigue of it longer than two hours at a time:

What if the lion in his rage I meet!  
Oft in the dust I view his printed feet;  
And fearful oft, when day's declining light  
Yields her pale empire to the mourner night,  
By hunger roused he scours the groaning plain,  
Gaunt wolves and sullen tigers in his train;  
Before them death with shrieks directs their way,  
Fills the wild yell, and leads them to their prey.  
At that dead hour the silent asp shall creep,  
If aught of rest I find, upon my sleep;  
Or some swoln serpent twist his scales around,  
And wake to anguish with a burning wound."

*Vide Eclogue II.*

If any thing can add to the beauty of these lines, it is that they unite the importance of truth to the embellishments of fiction. As Collins knew how to draw from nature, he knew also how to adorn with the splendour of imagery, and the elegance of language, even the most barren topics of human knowledge.—*Editor.*

but I had with me two Moorish horses, which I mounted occasionally as a relief.

At their ordinary pace, my dromedaries travelled three thousand three hundred and sixty French toises per hour, or the seven-fifths of one of our leagues of two thousand four hundred toises: this is their natural pace, which they can continue during ten hours per day, without being fatigued. At this rate, we can easily perform journies of fifteen leagues by travelling only six hours in the morning, and a little more than four in the evening, besides being able to rest each day fourteen hours.

Hence, with good dromedaries, strong and healthy travellers may, without any extraordinary labour or fatigue, arrive in fifty days at the very centre of Africa in its widest extent; and the most considerable diameter of this continent, from Cape Verd to Cape Gardefu, which is fifteen hundred leagues, might with dromedaries, if there existed no other obstacles, be traversed without fatigue in four months.

The equanimity, the slowness, or the utmost rapidity of pace of the dromedaries in a march, are entirely dependent on those who conduct them; indeed obedience to the voice of their conductors is a capital point in the discipline of these animals, whose life is passed in travelling.

They proceed either quick or slow, according to the tone and movement of the song of the camel conductor, who is always placed at the head of the caravan: they follow in a file, with a pensive and melancholy air, without ever wandering or deviating from the direct path, and observing the cadence of the song which is sung by their leader, who, when he wishes either to slacken or increase their pace, slackens or increases his ditty accordingly.

Often in these variations of progression, they are roused by a tone of voice more elevated, or by a slight whistling. These trifling intimations are immediately perceived, and attended to; so perfect is the submission of this good animal, who spurns at injurious treatment, who becomes stubborn when the whip or the spur is applied, but who brightens into activity at the song of man, who forgets his pain at the sound of an instrument, and who bending beneath hunger, thirst and fatigue, resumes his courage at the voice of his master.

I wished to try the trot of the dromedary, but it appeared to

me insupportable. It must either be an Arab or a Moor, who can trot this animal for any length of time. I could not support this torment for more than a quarter of an hour, which was sufficient to make me sore all over the rest of the day, and even an access of fever was the consequence of my curiosity. It is impossible to form an idea of a jolting more horrible and painful; nay, the power of keeping one's self on the animal, when it is going a full trot, appeared to me extremely difficult.

It is nevertheless with this trot of their dromedaries, that the Moors, like the Arabs, execute those journies of sixty and seventy leagues per day, which they continue sometimes for five days together, and by means of which they gain, in that period, a space of more than three hundred leagues, between them and those whom they have pillaged and despoiled.

It is from their education and barbarous mode of living, that they are enabled to support these violent fatigues, which however never take place but when they wish to escape quickly from an enraged enemy, and to shelter themselves from his vengeance; or when they surprise a caravan, or a village, which they pillage, and then endeavour to avoid the pursuit which may result from these acts of violence.

The numerous quarrels which take place between the Moorish tribes of Zaara, are decided by the fate of battle, and these contests are generally concluded, by the conflict of warriors mounted on dromedaries.

This kind of cavalry forms the *corps de reserve*, and is never used but when it is necessary to decide the victory. These charges are made at a full trot; the two adverse parties meet, commingle, and fight arm to arm.

The Moors say, that in these battles the dromedary shews the greatest courage; that he rushes furiously upon the dromedary of the enemy, striking him violently on the head and breast, biting him with rage, and tearing off whole mouthfuls of flesh : they never quit the attack, till one of the two is disabled; and on these occasions they are so much more determined and intrepid than their masters, that nothing can check their fury and impetuosity. It is difficult to believe, that an animal so mild and patient in every other respect, should be in war so uncommonly courageous.

The gallop of the dromedary is the most rapid and lively of

all his motions; it is less painful to the rider, than the trot, but more fatiguing to the animal, who cannot continue it longer than one or two days at the most. The Moors declare that, at this pace, they can easily travel a hundred leagues in twenty hours. After the first course, they repose four hours, and the dromedaries are fed with those balls of millet already mentioned, and are allowed to drink fermented milk, which they carry in leathern bags. The men take only a few ounces of gum, mixed with gravy of meat, which forms their entire food; they never make their dromedaries gallop, but after having lost a battle, and when they are anxious to escape from a conquering and enraged enemy, who would massacre them without mercy if they were overtaken. When they foresee that they are likely to have occasion to gallop their dromedaries, they prepare them for it some days previous, by exercise and good nourishment. In 1786, I saw near two hundred men belonging to the army of Hilly-Koury, fly thus after being defeated by Hamet Moktar; they passed within sight of fort St. Louis of the Senegal, mounted two and two on their dromedaries, and crossing with prodigious rapidity, the tongue of sand which separates the river from the sea. They had fled before the end of the battle, as soon as they perceived the victory was decided against them. They had only to make a journey of twenty hours, in order to reach the mouth of the Senegal in the environs of St. Louis; they swam across the river, and took refuge in the territories of Damel, an ally of the vanquished monarch. The dromedaries swim badly, and consequently many of them would have perished in this passage, had not the Moors opportunely arrived, and conveyed them safely into the territory of Cayor.

In the journey which I made with dromedaries, I had also an opportunity of observing their astonishing sobriety; it can indeed hardly be conceived to what an extent these animals are accustomed to observe abstinence.

But this faculty of withholding from drink for a number of days and of sustaining the most rigorous sobriety in the midst of the greatest fatigues, is not merely the effect of education, but results principally from the conformation of this animal, and which may in this point of view be considered as a phenomenon.

It is known that independently of the four stomachs which all ruminating animals have, the dromedary possesses a fifth,



which serves him as a kind of cistern; this last stomach he fills by immense draughts, when his good fortune presents him with a spring of fresh water, a thing very rare in the sandy deserts of Africa; in this receptacle the water is reserved quite pure, and as wholesome after having remained there a month, as it is the first day.

This fifth stomach is large enough to contain a considerable quantity of liquid, and is so constructed that the other aliments cannot mingle with it, by which means whenever the animal has occasion to moisten the herbs, with which he is nourished, and which is almost always burnt and dry, and thus prepare it for deglutition, he forces a part of this water into the œsophagus, by a simple contraction of the muscles.

This astonishing mechanism, though very well known, must yet forever be admired; for it is in consequence of such a conformation, that the dromedary is enabled to live without drinking for the astonishing space of ten days, in a country burned by a glowing sun, where thirst is the most dreadful of all torments; by this organization also, it is enabled to drink a prodigious quantity of water at one time, and which remains a long while limpid and pure in this reservoir.

The Moors who travel through the desert also affirm, that either from instinct, from a sense of smelling, or from some other cause, the dromedaries, when they have passed eight or ten days without drinking, smell water at the distance of more than half a league, and that the moment this olfactory power, which is doubtless in high degree delicate, warns them of the existence of wholesome water, or of a fresh spring, they run towards it at a very quick trot, and in a direct line. This fact has likewise been affirmed by every one who have performed extensive journeys over this desert.

In order justly to appreciate the importance of the benevolence of the Creator, in giving the dromedary to that ramification of human nature which is doomed to traverse these immense solitudes exposed to the most imminent perils, and even to destruction, let us only figure to ourselves, the dreadful situation of some travellers who have lost their road in the midst of an ocean of moving sand, agitated and whirled about by impetuous winds. The horizon is no longer visible but by a weak and uncertain light; the sun is obscured by clouds of dust, which fill the space

of Heaven, and incessantly gravitate again towards the earth; through this obscurity, the eye vainly endeavours to catch some indicative sign of the road which must be followed, in order to reach an haven of security and rest. The water which the dromedaries carry enclosed in leathern bags, is either evaporated by the action of the solar rays, or consumed or corrupted; the men and animals, exhausted by reiterated fatigues and successive days of travel, abstinence, and anguish, proceed onwards with a faint and weary step. One part of the dromedaries have already been sacrificed, and their sides opened to procure that water which has remained pure and wholesome in these living reservoirs; but barely will it suffice to prolong for a few minutes expiring nature; the dromedaries which have survived these massacres, enjoined by imperious necessity, are reserved as a last resource; this resource must ultimately be employed; all is then lost, and they have nothing before their eyes but despair and death. When at the last moment of these cruel extremities, the instinct of the dromedary warns them of the proximity of a fountain; instantly he starts, his courage is re-animated, and his convulsive motions inform the despairing travellers, that the moment of deliverance is at hand; they all spring forward towards the source which is to save exhausted nature, and the dromedary, that holy, that sacred animal, thus preserves, in these dreadful circumstances, the life of man!

The feet of the dromedary are peculiarly adapted for sandy soils; they are furnished at the end with two little nails, and the under part is large, fleshy, and covered with a soft, thick and callous epidermis; these feet are cloven horizontally at the bottom, about two thirds of their length. The foot of the dromedary, being thus supple and fleshy, accords admirably with the fine moving sand, for which he has been created; had it been covered with a thick horny substance, the friction of the sand would soon produce a degree of irritation in the foot and leg; the horn, burnt and dried up, would become scaly, which would successively be disengaged from the foot, and the animal would be no longer able to walk; but enclosed as it is, in a soft fleshy matter, permeable by the nutritive juices, and to the humors which fly off by perspiration, it preserves all its elasticity, and is even better adapted than the foot of man for walking in those sands, which he is destined to traverse all his life.

The legs and neck of the dromedary are very long; the legs must be thus, as they frequently sink two feet in the sand, and if they had not a considerable elongation (which however is very disproportionate to the rest of the body, and has a disagreeable appearance to the eye,) the belly of the animal would come in contact with the sand, and thus deprive him of the means and power of proceeding.

The length of its neck is also equally indispensable and necessary; it forms a balance, by means of which the equilibrium of the body is maintained; it is in fact a moving lever, the movements of which are requisite to render the fall of the animal gradual, when he bends his legs to lie down, and more easy when he rises up. Its head is small in proportion to its body; its nose is elongated, and cleft like that of a hare; its eyes are of a middling size, and the whole physiognomy of this animal impresses strongly the idea of calmness and humility, intermingled with a deep melancholy aspect. Nor is this astonishing, when we reflect, that from the first days of its existence, it is condemned to torture and oppression; that at no moment of its life is it allowed to taste the pleasures of liberty; that it is the only animal which, from its birth, is deprived of maternal attention, and the happiness of sporting round its mother; that all its days are passed in a series of privations, sufferings and fatigues; that its whole life is laborious and painful; that it never enjoys a single moment of independence; and that it is impossible to experience the hardships of perpetual servitude with less pity, from those who inflict them, than this unfortunate animal.

The dromedaries which are reared by the Moors are in general either brown, red, or ash-coloured: It does not appear that these savages pay much attention to keeping them clean, or maintaining them in such a manner, as to obtain from hence a fine pithy hair; they nevertheless employ it for making stuffs for clothing, and other domestic purposes; they also manufacture with it tents, the texture of which is so thick and close, that it is impervious to the rain; they even make vases or round sacks, of a foot in diameter, and eighteen inches in depth; the upper part of these vases is strengthened by bands of the same stuff, to the depth of about four inches, so that they remain naturally open. The Moors use them for fetching water, and likewise carry it in them when going on a journey, the same as we do in our wooden

buckets; to the sides of these vases, near the aperture, and opposite each other, are attached a kind of handle, through which long poles are passed, and by this means they are carried. These vases of hair are so well made, that they retain the water as well as a metal or an earthen one.

The dromedary is not completely formed until its fourth or fifth year, when they first begin to employ it, but with a great deal of care, and they are extremely cautious not to overload it; towards the sixth year, the Moors consider them as arrived at the age of puberty, and when they are eight years old, they are supposed to have attained their utmost vigour.

The ordinary price of a dromedary of this age was, in 1786, two hundred and fifty livres; four fifths of this sum were paid in pieces of guinea, and the residue in glass trinkets, gunpowder, balls and musket flints.

The Moors know the age of a dromedary by unequivocal signs, and which never mislead them; but as they are the only people who rear and sell these animals in all the western countries of Africa, between Zaara and the line, they preserve inviolable the secret of the signs by which they know their age, and never divulge it either to the blacks, or the Europeans who trade with them.

From hence it often happens, that in buying dromedaries, persons are deceived, and the Moors sell those of five years old, which they declare to be eight. I have seen many tricks of this kind played, and one of my own dromedaries died after seven days journey, in proceeding from the Senegal to Goree, merely because it was too young; for its burthen was by no means heavy.

I am persuaded that we should run less risk of being deceived by the Moors, were we to buy from them dromedaries of an advanced age, instead of young ones, for it is easy enough to distinguish by the physiognomy, the form of the body, the quality of the hair, and the callosities of the legs and breasts, whether a dromedary be fifteen or twenty years old: but it appeared to me very difficult to discover, the difference between a dromedary of four or five, and one of eight years of age.

The Moors say that this animal preserves all its vigour for forty years, and that after this age its strength begins to diminish, though they commonly live to be sixty; some have been much older, but such examples are rare.

When the dromedaries become aged, and they are no longer serviceable, the Moors eat them; nearly all the kings in the vicinity of the Gambia have dromedaries, which they purchase from the Moors, who sell also a great number to the Mandings.

Six hundred armed men, exercised after the European manner, properly instructed in the service which would be expected from them, supported by light artillery, composed merely of four pounders, howitzers, &c. and commanded by an able and resolute general, might drive before them 20,000 Moors, and still more surely, 50,000 negroes. These people, destitute of all defence, and attacked by well disciplined troops, would be unable to stand against our musquetry, and still less could they endure the fire of our artillery.

If a dromedary can carry ten *quintaux*, he will very easily be able to support six soldiers; but a single dromedary might carry twelve soldiers, six of whom might march five hours per diem, while the other six might ride upon the dromedary, and *vice versa*. Hence fifty of these animals would be sufficient to convey 600 soldiers.

A piece of light artillery weighs from six to seven hundred pounds. A man might mount a dromedary carrying this burthen, which would only augment the weight by a hundred and sixty pounds; so that the animal might still convey a hundred and forty pounds of powder.

The carriages of these pieces not being intended for much work, and being used only in the time of battle, it would not be necessary to construct them so solidly as those usually made in Europe, and a dromedary might therefore carry two of them. Two hundred dromedaries would be sufficient to perform a very considerable undertaking; all the other circumstances which would be necessary in order to insure the success of such an enterprise, would require details by far too numerous for this work; but it may be confidently affirmed, that a small army of six hundred men, arranged, organized and directed, according to the manner which I have laid down, might have a power and importance in Africa, which is almost incalculable; and what I have above said, relative to the dromedary, will easily shew, that with its assistance, it would be possible to undertake some very important expeditions; and whether we sought to make some warlike enterprise, or to render the intercourse easy and convenient between the countries

which the Senegal ought to command, or to perform some journey into the interior, or to make some commercial connections by land or to attempt the civilization of this considerable part of Africa; or finally, to obtain some exact, detailed, and much wished-for information relative to it; whether we would undertake one or all of these, it would be highly advantageous to form studs of dromedaries, and to be enabled to employ a vast number of these valuable and useful animals.

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## **Memorial of the American Colonization Society, to the several States.**

The American Colonization Society has been enabled by the liberal patronage of their fellow-citizens of the several states, (and it numbers among these friends and contributors, many of the citizens of ) to explore the coast of Africa to find an asylum to which the free coloured population of our country might be safely removed.—The annual reports of their proceedings, (accompanying this memorial) will show what their labours have effected.

These labours, they have now the happiness of declaring, have, by the favour of providence, been conducted to a successful issue: and they now present themselves before you, with the power of shewing, that all that could reasonably be expected to be done by their instrumentality, has happily been accomplished.

A Colony of free coloured persons from the United States, amounting to several hundred, has been planted on one of the most eligible situations upon the coast of Africa. The difficulties and dangers necessarily attendant upon such enterprises, have been overcome: and they are now in the peaceful occupation and cultivation of a fertile and extensive territory, possessing every advantage for their own comfortable subsistence, and for carrying on an advantageous commerce with other parts of the world.

Every circumstance calculated to promote a rapid increase of population, is to be found connected with this settlement. The vast mass of inhabitants of this description in our country, their depressed and unfortunate condition among us, the continually

decreasing expenses of transportation, their own desires to seek a home, with their brethren, in the land of their fathers, and the obvious interest of every portion of our community to aid and encourage them, give every reason to expect that emigration to Montserado, will only be limited by the capacity of the country to receive and subsist the Colonists.

And this capacity is almost unlimited—a climate suited to the constitutions of the descendants of Africa, a soil adapted to their wants, producing two crops of corn within the year, and rice almost without cultivation, whose forests abound in cotton, coffee, dye-woods, spices, and every tropical production: and such a country, thus abounding in resources for the subsistence of man, destitute of men, depopulated by the slave trade, must invite, must admit and provide for, a more rapidly increasing population than has perhaps ever yet been witnessed.

Such is the situation, and such are the prospects of the establishment your memorialists have been enabled to make.—A private association of individuals can do little more.—The work now becomes too vast for their powers, too important to be trusted to any hands, save those, to whom, as guardians of the public, the great interests of the public are committed.

Your memorialists have long looked forward to the period that has now arrived, and deliberately considered the duties it would impose upon them. In the discharge of these duties, they now appear before you, and make their appeal with confidence to the legislature of a state, many of whose citizens have already evinced their readiness to promote the success of the cause in which they have engaged.

They are already prepared to lay before the Congress of the U. States, the work they have effected, and to call upon them, as representing the great body of the American nation, to take into their own hands, the consummation of an object worthy of national patronage.

Whether the General Government of the United States will consider this a concern of national interest, to which the power and resources of the nation are to be applied, or as more proper for the consideration of the states, in their several capacities, it is not for your memorialists to determine. Their duty is to place it before all, who have the power to accomplish it, and to trust that the wisdom and patriotism of those to whom it is committed, will devise the most proper and effectual means for its success.

Should the state of                      feel an interest in this great object, either as it affects her own prosperity or that of the Union, her able representatives in the national councils can speak her wishes: and should it become necessary for the several states to provide the means for its accomplishment, she can then apply her own power and resources in its behalf, to such extent and in such way as her interest and duty may demand.

It is with these views and for this purpose, that the American Colonization Society now proceeds in the course of its duties, to claim from the several states, their solemn consideration of this most interesting subject. They hope that, in doing so, they may be excused for endeavouring to offer some suggestions, applicable to the difference in situation and circumstances of the several states of the Union, in relation to their coloured population.

The United States contain, dispersed in various proportions, among them, upwards of 250,000 free coloured inhabitants.— That their removal to the colony now established in Africa, would be a blessing to themselves and a relief to us, is too obvious to our feelings and interests to require argument. ) It is also evident that, notwithstanding all the impediments to emancipation in the slave states, and all the disadvantages attending such a condition, a great addition is annually made to this number.

If the Colony at Liberia becomes capable of drawing off, annually, portions of this population from the various states, so that it gradually diminishes and finally disappears from among them, and if those, who hereafter become free, are also thus disposed of, will not these states have attained, by this disincumbrance, a great moral and political benefit, fully justifying even a considerable expenditure of their funds?

The amount of that expenditure may even now be calculated, though it is certain, that it will fall below any estimates that may be predicated upon the present cost of transportation.

The first emigrants cost the Society about fifty dollars, each; the last, about twenty. And when the vessels in which they embark, can return freighted with the African products, which the industry and enterprise of the Colonists will collect, it is certain that the mere subsistence during the passage, and for a



few months afterwards, in the cheapest country upon earth, will constitute the sole expense.

And when this description of persons see, as they soon must, the great advantages of emigration, may not vast numbers of them be expected to provide for themselves, the means of transportation? Who can doubt this, that considers the great accession to the population of this country, annually made by the arrival among us, of the most destitute classes of foreigners, multitudes of whom only pay for their passage by their labour?

Those states, then, that at present labour under the disadvantages of such a population, can obtain relief; and at an expense not beyond its value. And if this was all—if a wretched outcast people should be thus made happy, and, not confining the blessing to themselves, should become a light to that land of darkness, to which we owe such a retribution for past wrongs; if a work thus beneficent to man and acceptable to God, can be made from materials not only useless but injurious where they are, there would be motives enough, excited by patriotism, benevolence and religion, to encourage us to such an effort.

In the course of its endeavours to interest the citizens of the different states in favor of this object, the Society has had to encounter, and in some degree, still has to encounter, an opposition arising from the most contradictory objections.

They have been denounced by some as fanatical and visionary innovators, pursuing, without regard to means or consequences, an object destructive of the rights of property, and dangerous to the public peace. While others have looked upon them as a mercenary and selfish association, which, regarding the free people of colour as impediments to the profitable use of their slave property, sought, by removing it, to rivet the chains of slavery.

The Society would conciliate, if possible, these opposing opponents. They doubt not the sincerity and good intentions of both of them, and trust that time and experience will do, what their assurances may now be unable to effect, remove the apprehensions of the one and the suspicions of the other.

The sole object of the Society, as declared at its institution, and from which it can never be allowed to depart, is "to remove, with their own consent, to the Coast of Africa, the free coloured population, now existing in the United States, and such as

hereafter may become free." That such a removal is practicable, and would be highly beneficial, both to the subjects of it and to ourselves, seems now scarcely to admit of a question.—What its effects might be in relation to another class of our coloured population, and those who lawfully hold them as their property, must of course be more doubtful. But that such effects would be injurious to either, seems by no means probable. That it would tend to mitigate the evils of slavery, and offer facilities and inducements to voluntary emancipation, seems almost certain: and it cannot be doubted but that this may be done without impairing the rights of property or the safety of society. Whatever influence then it may have upon the question of slavery, must be a beneficial influence, and cannot therefore be considered as an objection against it. That every measure which either directly or indirectly affects this delicate question of slavery, should be managed with the greatest care and circumspection, must be conceded. But it cannot be reasonable to insist that, every measure, however important and beneficial, is to be denounced, because it may in its consequences, lead to a removal of the obstructions to voluntary emancipation, and act favourably upon the state of slavery.

In pursuing their object, therefore (although such consequences may result from a successful prosecution of it, the Society cannot be justly charged with aiming to disturb the rights of property or the peace of society.)—Your memorialists refer with confidence to the course they have pursued, in the prosecution of their object for nine years past, to shew that it is possible, without danger or alarm, to carry on such an operation, notwithstanding its supposed relation to the subject of slavery, and that they have not been regardless, in any of their measures, of what was due to the state of society in which they live. They are, themselves, chiefly slave-holders, and live, with all the ties of life binding them to a slave-holding community. They know when to speak and when to forbear upon topics connected with this painful and difficult subject. They put forth no passionate appeals before the public, seek to excite no feeling, and avoid, with the most sedulous care, every measure that would endanger the public tranquillity—they could have obtained friends and resources by such appeals, but they seek nothing at any hazard, and prefer that their work should advance slowly, or even stand still for a season, rather than that it should make its way by any means

calculated to excite dangerous discontents in one class, or just apprehensions in the other.

Yet on such occasions as the present, when they who are delegated to watch over the public welfare, are to be invited to examine and consider this great subject in all its connections; it cannot be inconsistent with the Society's declared object, or any of its duties, to endeavour to shew, that nothing injurious or dangerous need be apprehended, either from the measure itself or any of its consequences.

If it be said that this subject of slavery is to be so respected, that no purposes of public benefit, no matter how remotely connected with it, or how favourably they may operate upon it, must ever be touched, even with the greatest discretion; it may be asked what is to happen if all matters thus related to it, are never to be touched? If we could prevent the utterance of a word, or the rising of a thought that might call up this fearful subject forever, what would be our gain from this insensibility? We could gain nothing, if we could stifle thought and enquiry—but thought and enquiry, and effort upon such subjects, in such an age as this, are not to be stifled. Who does not see in the times in which we live, when a new impulse seems to be awakened in man, and just conceptions of his rights and of his duties are calling forth all the energies of his nature, that there is nothing left but to guide with a steady hand the spirit of improvement, and direct its operations to such results, as may conduce to the general welfare?

If discreet and prudent measures are to be foreborne, because their consequences may lead to a diminution of the evils of slavery, what shall restrain the inconsiderate, dangerous, and direct efforts that may be made upon the subject itself?—And if, therefore, it can neither be let alone, nor rashly dealt with, what remains but that those who feel and understand it; those, who from habit, situation and interest, know all its bearings and connections, should be allowed to prosecute a useful object, although thus connected, and conduct it with the care and caution it requires? And if its consequences shall lead to the supposed conclusion, shall open a way, without violating the rights of any, to deliver us from a still greater evil, is it an objection that can be urged against its prosecution?

To those who charge the Society with the contrary motive of

designing to perpetuate slavery, they would beg leave to say, that it is not reasonable to infer such purpose, from the circumstance of the Society's confining its operations to the free people of colour. The managers could, with no propriety, depart from their original and avowed purpose, and make emancipation their object. And they would further say, that if they were not thus restrained by the terms of their association, they would still consider any attempts to promote the increase of the free coloured population by manumission, unnecessary, premature, and dangerous.

They hope that more correct views are now entertained throughout our country, of the manner in which all subjects, in any way connected with slavery, should be considered and conducted.

It seems now to be admitted that, whatever has any bearing upon that question, must be managed with the utmost consideration; that the peace and order of society must not be endangered by indiscreet and ill-timed efforts to promote emancipation; and that a true regard should be manifested to the feelings and the fears, and even the prejudices of those, whose co-operation is essential.

The Managers of the Society perceive with gratification, that these considerations begin to be felt and appreciated in those states where slavery is only heard of, and where perhaps the perplexities of its operations upon society, and the necessities it creates and imposes, have not been generally understood.

From the situation of the Society, and its constant intercourse with the citizens of some of the slave states, they have had abundant opportunities of witnessing the progress of opinion upon this subject, and of accurately knowing its present state. They are convinced, that there are now hundreds of masters who are so only from necessity, who are prepared to manumit their slaves, whenever means are provided for their reception and support in the Colony; and they believe that this disposition, even without any legislative enactments, will increase far more rapidly, than the means for its gratification can be afforded.

They trust, therefore, that the object which they have endeavoured to place before the American people, and which is now proved to be attainable, will be found interesting to every portion of our country, and that no apprehensions of any evil consequences to result from it, can be reasonably entertained.

To those, therefore, whom \_\_\_\_\_ has selected as the guardians of her interests, your Memorialists beg leave to commit this important subject, trusting that their wisdom will devise the means by which the work they have thus far accomplished, may be made to promote those interests, and the common welfare of our country.

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## Discoveries in Africa.

*(From the Sierra Leone Gazette.)*

His Majesty's ship *Brazen*, captain Willes, sailed on Thursday last, for the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Captains Clapperton and Pearce, with Messrs. Morrison and Dickson, who came out in the *Brazen*, went down in her, and will be landed at such part of the coast as circumstances may render most advisable. Their object will then be to reach Soccatoo, where Capt. Clapperton resided some time last year, when in the interior with Major Denham. We had much conversation with him, and were much gratified with his statements. They confirm (what we are sure will be more apparent the more we become acquainted with the country) that the centre of Africa is far advanced in civilization; that the further the negro is removed from the baneful effects of the slave-trade—the contamination of the coast—the more he is raised in the scale of humanity: the more intelligent, honest and industrious does he become. We understand, that on reaching Soccatoo, some of the party will remain to form more intimate relations with that extraordinary sovereign, Sultan Bello, and endeavour to establish a safe and permanent communication between Soccatoo and the coast; whilst others will visit the Niger, trace its source, and follow it to the sea: with other excursions for the benefit of science, and the extension of knowledge.

We were favoured with a view of a map, containing the late discoveries of major Denham and capt. Clapperton, from which it seems nearly certain that the Niger, or Joliba, passing within a short distance of Soccatoo, flows into the Bight of Benin, and we have no doubt, forms Lagos and the rivers round it. If so, what an important opening is made into the interior of Africa! With the exception of the rapids of Yaouree, a steam vessel may traverse this immense continent from the Bight of Benin to the Foulah

country—a water communication scarcely equalled in any other part of the world.

We were much gratified with captain Clapperton's account of the extent and neatness of the fences and plantations in the interior, especially of cotton and indigo, and the care with which they are kept clear of weeds. We are also struck with the circumstance, that all the gold carried to Timbuctoo and Soccatoo, is brought from the west and southwest; a strong corroboration of what is always stated by our travelling merchants, that the most productive gold mines of Western or Interior Africa are not far from us. We wish these adventurous travellers every success; but we cannot help fearing the Portuguese interest in the Bights will be too powerful for them. It is the policy of that government to keep every thing connected with its colonial establishments a profound secret. The world knows nothing of them. To this national jealousy is to be added, in the present case, the fear of the authorities on this coast, that our success, may be their loss, and especially that it may interfere with their illicit slave-trade. If the Lagos be the Niger, they must know it: and if so, we fear they will not, if they can prevent it, allow our enterprising countrymen to unravel a secret they have so long kept.

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## Formation of Auxiliary Societies.

It gives us pleasure to announce the formation of the following auxiliary societies, and to publish the names of their respective officers.

### *Hampden county, Mass. Auxiliary Colonization Society.*

Hon. Samuel Lathrop, PRESIDENT,  
 Israel E. Trask, Esq. VICE-PRESIDENT,  
 Frederick A. Packard, Esq. CORRESPONDING SEC'Y.  
 Hon. Justice Willard, RECORDING SEC'Y.  
 Col. George Cotten, TREASURER.

#### BOARD OF MANAGERS.

Hon. John Mills,	Rev. Samuel Osgood,
Ethan Ely, Esq.	Rev. W. B. O. Peabody.
Rev. Isaac Knapp,	

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### *Edenton, N. C. Auxiliary Colonization Society.*

James Iredell, PRESIDENT.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Rev. Henry Holmes,                      Rev. John Avery,  
                  Henry Wills, SEC'Y.  
                  William R. Norcum, TREASURER.

## MANAGERS.

Nathaniel Bond,                      John Cox,  
                  Henry Flury,                      Charles E. Johnson,  
                  James Wills,                      Dr. James Norcum,  
 Rev. Mr. Meredith and Mr. Kerr, Members of the Board of  
 Managers ex-officio.

*St. Louis, Missouri, Auxiliary Colonization Society.*

William Carr Lane, PRESIDENT.

## VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. James H. Peck,                      George Tompkins,  
 Gov. Coles, (of Illinois,)                      William C. Carr.

## MANAGERS.

Col. John O'Fallon,                      John Smith,  
 Dr. Robert Simpson,                      John K. Walker,  
 Hon. Rufus Pettibone,                      Col. Quarles,  
 Theodore Hunt,                      Edward Bates,  
 Dr. H. L. Hoffman,                      Robert Wash,  
 Horatio Cozens,                      Thomas Cohen.

T. Spalding, CORRESPONDING SEC'Y.

D. Hough, RECORDING SEC'Y.

Aaron Phule, TREASURER.

**The African Boy, "Jerningham."**

Ah! tell me, little mournful Moor,  
 Why still you linger on the shore?  
 Haste to your playmates, haste away,  
 Nor loiter here with fond delay.  
 When morn unveiled her radiant eye,  
 You hailed me as you wandered by;  
 Returning at the approaching eve,  
 Your meek salute I still receive.  
 Benign enquirer, thou shalt know,  
 Why here my lonesome moments flow:  
 'Tis said, my countrymen (no more  
 Like ravening sharks that haunt the shore,)

Return to bless, to raise, to cheer,  
And pay compassion's long arrears.  
'Tis said, the numerous captive train,  
Late bound by the degrading chain,  
Triumphant come, with swelling sails,  
New smiling skies, and western gales;  
They come with festive heart and glee,  
Their hands unshackled—minds as free;—  
They come, at mercy's great command,  
To re-possess their native land.  
The gales that o'er the ocean stray,  
And chase the waves in gentle play,  
Methinks they whisper, as they fly,  
Juellen soon will meet thine eye.  
'Tis this that soothes her little son,  
Blends all his wishes into one.  
Ah! were I clasped in her embrace,  
I would forgive her past disgrace;  
Forgive the memorable hour  
She fell a prey to tyrant power;  
Forgive her lost, distracted air,  
Her sorrowing voice, her kneeling prayer;  
The suppliant tears that galled her cheek,  
And last, her agonising shriek;—  
Locked in her hair, a ruthless hand  
Trailed her along the flinty sand;  
A ruffian train, with clamours rude,  
Th' impious spectacle pursued;  
Still as she moved, in accents wild,  
She cried aloud, my child! my child!  
The lofty bark, she now ascends,  
With screams of woe, the air she rends;  
The vessel less'ning from the shore,  
Her piteous wails I heard no more.  
Now, as I stretched my last survey,  
Her distant form dissolved away.  
That day is past, I cease to mourn,  
Succeeding joy shall have its turn.  
Beside the hoarse resounding deep,  
A pleasing, anxious watch I keep.  
For when the morning clouds shall break,  
And darts of day the darkness streak,  
Perchance along the glittering main,  
(Oh, may this hope not throb in vain)  
To meet these long-desiring eyes,  
Juellen, and the sun may rise.



# AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

## COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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VOL. II.]

MAY, 1826.

[NO. III.

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### REVIEW OF THE

### Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 40.)

“DURING the whole course of the important transactions which have been hitherto related,” says Mr. Hoare, “Mr. Sharp had continued in the humble employment of a clerk in ordinary, in the minuting branch of the ordnance office.” The duties of this station appear to have been punctually and faithfully performed, until the death of the second clerk, in the year 1774, when he succeeded to the place of assistant to the secretary, Mr. Boddington, and received additional compensation.

But the crisis had now arrived, when his integrity was to be more strikingly exhibited, and his sacred regard to principle, to show itself superior to all considerations of personal interest.

On this subject, however, Mr. Sharp may most properly speak for himself :

*July 28, 1775.*

“An account in the Gazette of the battle at Charlestown, near Boston ; and letters with large demands of ordnance stores, being received, which were ordered to be got with all expedition, I thought it right to declare my objections to the being in any way concerned in that unnatural business, and was advised by Mr. Boddington, to ask leave of absence for two months, as the Board would take it more kindly than an abrupt resignation.

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"I wrote that day to Sir Charles Cocks, clerk of the ordnance, and received a very polite answer. Sir Jeffrey Amhurst and Mr. Langlois, were made acquainted with my objections by Mr. Boddington, and also with the advice he had given me; and they approved of the manner of absenting myself."

While retired from the duties of his office, Mr. Sharp visited his relations in the North, and employed his time in literary pursuits. Near the conclusion of the term allowed for his absence, he addressed a letter to Mr. Boddington, declaring, "that whilst a bloody war was carried on, unjustly as he conceived, against his fellow subjects, he could not return to his ordnance duty; and yet expressing his reluctance to resign his place, which had now become his only profession and livelihood. He therefore solicited a further indulgence, requesting that his whole salary might be divided amongst the gentlemen, whose duties might become more arduous, in consequence of his absence.

In compliance, however, with the advice of Mr. Boddington, his request was made without conditions; although in a private letter to this gentleman, he entreats him to dispose of his whole salary, to obtain necessary assistance, "that no additional expense might be brought on the office on his account." A further leave of absence was subsequently granted; but when the hostilities with America had advanced beyond the hope of a speedy termination, he resigned his office.

This act was regarded by many as excessively imprudent. Mr. Sharp's charities had exhausted his resources; and to use the language of Mr. Hoare, "this protector of the helpless, stood himself without the means of sustenance." His affectionate brothers, however, (now prosperous,) welcomed him at once, into the bosoms of their families, and considered him rather a treasure than a burthen. "They revered that obedience to conscience, which had deprived him of his competency, and they strove to compensate his loss by every act of respect and kindness."

We know not how to deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting the following letter, which delicately and beautifully expresses the feelings of the brothers, on this occasion, and admirably illustrates their own excellence, as well as the virtues of him to whom it is addressed:

**"TO MR. GRANVILLE SHARP.**

"LONDON, October 5, 1775.

"DEAR BROTHER GRANVILLE,

"Many thanks for your very affectionate letter, of the 26th of last month. We very much approve, here, of your asking a farther leave of absence. It will

give you a little leisure, which you so very much want ; and it will let you have a little enjoyment of the friends you see so seldom ; and, above all, it may give some chance for a turn in public affairs : and of this I do not at all despair ; but if it should be otherwise, and you should think it proper to give up your employment, I will now speak for my brother William as well as myself : we are both ready and willing, and, God be thanked, at present *able* to take care that the loss shall be none to you ; and all that we have to ask in return is, that you would continue to live amongst us as you have hitherto done, without imagining that you will, in such a situation, be burthensome to us, and also without supposing, that it will then be your duty to seek employment in some other way of life ; for if we have the needful amongst us, it matters not to whom it belongs—the happiness of being together is worth the expense, if it answered no farther purpose. But I will go farther ; I have no doubt but the mutual assistance we are of to each other, and the consequence we acquire by it, is more than adequate to any other employment we might reasonably hope could be obtained ; and in case of the death of either party, much more would be lost to the family by your absence, than perhaps might be produced by other means.

These are only a few reasons, drawn up in haste, as they appear to me to enforce what I have said above : but I trust you will have no occasion for it ; it is not every part of office duty you object to—you will, of course, refuse particular parts. It may pass on so till time comes round : but if not, I shall not be at all uneasy at the resignation, if what is now said shall be agreeable to yourself.

Your sincerely affectionate brother,

JAMES SHARP."

"DEAR GRANVILLE,

"I most heartily approve of what my brother has written above : and I hope you will think of the matter as we do.

Much love as due, from

Your affectionate brother,

WILLIAM SHARP."

And here may we be permitted to remark, that the kind and generous affections which constitute the highest domestic felicity, generally indicate the existence of those magnanimous dispositions which prompt to the noblest public exertions. They may indeed be vigorous and active in minds too diffident or modest to seek for fame ; but they seldom live in hearts which feel no deep sympathy for human nature. Equally true is it, perhaps, that he who is most devoted to his country and most concerned for the interests of his species, will be found endowed with the tenderest social affections ; most brightly will he exhibit the virtues, and faithfully discharge the duties of private life.

Mr. Sharp accepted the invitation of his brothers, and for many years shared their table and their purse. His literary studies were now renewed with an ardour and diligence, which have seldom, if ever, been surpassed. While occupied in the ordnance department, he was accustomed to pursue at night, and during the earliest hours of the day, those investigations which accomplished, as we have seen, a very important change in the opinions of the first judicial tribunal in the kingdom. But although he still continued his habits of severe study, he would not permit himself to be abstracted from social and domestic enjoyments.

It is unnecessary to do more than enumerate the several productions of Mr. Sharp's pen, while employed in the ordnance office, to secure us from any charge of misrepresentation, concerning his mental powers, or the attention and perseverance with which their operations were conducted. In 1765, he published a tract in opposition to Dr. Kennicott's statement of supposed corruptions, in the Hebrew text of Ezra and Nehemiah. This was a bold attempt considering the distinguished reputation of Dr. Kennicott as a scholar, and the peculiar disadvantages under which Mr. Sharp had laboured in his acquisition of biblical knowledge. A clergyman, after reading the work, however, humorously "compared him to David attacking and wounding Goliath." "The singularity of the subject," says Mr. Hoare, "the confidence with which his enterprise was supported, and the success with which it was finally attended, form one of the most remarkable incidents in literary annals."

In this controversy, Mr. Sharp appears to have been governed solely by a concern for the reputation of the Scriptures. He ventured to accuse his antagonist of having "drawn his instances of corruption of the text from the *English version only*, without having given himself the trouble of reading the *original*:" and this "charge he supported with great learning and keenness of criticism." Dr. Kennicott had proposed publishing a correct edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, to which Mr. Sharp strongly objected, and expressed the hope that the text would be copied from the best *existing edition*, with the various readings inserted in the margin. This plan was finally adopted.

His next production appeared in 1767, and was entitled "an account of measures adopted in 1711, 1712, and 1713, for introducing the English liturgy into the kingdom of Prussia, and into

the electorate of Hanover." The immediate cause of this publication, was his desire to extend the use of the forms of the English church excited, particularly, by information that it was intended to introduce them into Prussia. A manuscript, containing an account of measures which had been previously adopted for the same purpose, belonged to his family, and he now published its contents in the French language. This work contained a correspondence between the venerable Archbishop Sharp, and the learned and pious Prussian divine, Dr. Jablonski.

His third publication was, "A short introduction to vocal music," which received the approbation of those best capable to give judgment concerning it.

His fourth work was "On the pronunciation of the English tongue," and was published both in English and in French.

In 1768, he printed a tract, entitled, "Remarks on several important prophecies."

Several other publications might be mentioned, among which were a tract "On the due distinction between murder and manslaughter," another "On duelling," and a third, entitled, "A declaration of the people's natural rights to a share in the Legislature."

This declaration, it is stated in Mr. Sharp's manuscript, was re-printed even in the same year, 1774, in almost every part of America, at the very time that the British government had most fatally determined to enforce its unconstitutional and unjust pretensions, and thereby had incurred an extraordinary national punishment; even the forfeiture of all the colonies which they had intended to oppress, together with an immense loss of lives, and a most ruinous expense. "Such, (he continues) are the baneful effects of yielding to the false political suggestions of the prince of this world and his spiritual agents. The providential effect of the wicked notions, which, through a fatal delusion, have prevailed in the cabinets of princes, is completely contrary to their political expectations. For they conceive that there is (what they call) an *imperial necessity* or a *political expediency* for adopting illegal and unjust measures. But they are not aware that such measures always produce the very mischiefs which they hoped to prevent by them, and draw down the Divine vengeance, declared in the 64th psalm: "They imagine wickedness, and practice it; but God shall suddenly shoot at them with a swift arrow; yea, their own

tongues shall make them fall ; and all men that see it shall say, this hath God done ; for they shall perceive that it is his work !”\*

Two or three other tracts, relating to the controversy with the colonies, were published by Mr. Sharp ; and in the same year, 1776, “The law of Retribution,” “The just limitation of slavery in the laws of God, with a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery in the colonies ;” “The law of passive obedience ;” and “The law of liberty.”

We have alluded to Mr. Sharp's fondness for society and innocent recreation. “A barge on the Thames, long known to the circle of his friends for its festive hospitality, and particularly as a scene of musical delight, begins to occupy a place in his (M. S.) notes, from the August of 1775, immediately on his obtaining his first leave of absence from the ordnance board. The history

\* On the occasion of this work, he received the following lines from ——— Payne, one of the directors of the Bank of England :

TO MR. GRANVILLE SHARP.

*On reading his late instructive and excellent book, entitled, A declaration of the people's natural right to a share in the Legislature, as the fundamental principle of the British Constitution of State.*

Wise, learned, meek, with reverential love  
Of God's just laws, and love of man informed,  
O may thy labours by the midnight lamp,  
Pour day's effulgence on thy country's darkness :  
Teach lawyers rectitude ; teach statesmen truth ;  
Teach tyrant's justice ; and the village hind,  
Lord of his little freehold, teach to prize  
His personal importance, and to deem  
His own rights sacred as the rights of monarchs.

But should the voice of warning not be heard ;  
Should this devoted nation, left of God,  
Worship hell's blackest daemon—lawless power,  
And driven by pride and wrath, precipitate  
Through streams of kindred blood, her hasty strides  
To the dark gulph of dissolution,  
O then, may thy just spirit, self-approved  
In its past efforts, with an eye of faith,  
Awful, yet calm, behold the signal vengeance,  
And on the spotless wing of liberty,  
Rise uncorrupted to its native Heaven.

On these verses is written in red ink—*Mem.* “A seasonable warning to G. S. not of what he is, but of what he ought to be.”

even of his amusements cannot be told, without adding to the dignity of his character." It appears to have been the resort of individuals of great professional eminence and skill, as well as of distinguished rank. It was occasionally visited by foreign ministers and by the sovereign of England. "Such was the deference (observes Mr. Hoare) shown to the integrity of Granville, even while he was strenuously contending against the measures of the cabinet, on the momentous subject of our American contest."

His love of music, however, was more particularly remarkable. He was acquainted with its theory, but especially fond of it as practically adapted to the purposes of devotion. He had a good bass voice, and played on a variety of instruments.\* Sunday evening concerts were alternately held at the houses of his brothers James and William, which consisted wholly of performances of sacred music, in "which voices and instruments were united to sound the praises of the Supreme Being." The most eminent performers frequently attended on these occasions.

The conduct of Mr. Sharp towards a native of one of the South Sea Islands, who had been brought into England, shows the powerful sympathy which he felt for every object which offered any claims to his charitable exertions. Soon after the arrival of Omai (for such was the stranger's name) in 1775, Mr. Sharp sought an introduction, and expressed an earnest desire to impart to him a knowledge of the Scriptures. He voluntarily became his instructor; and in fifteen lessons (all which he had the opportunity of giving) communicated to him the first rudiments of the English language. He perceived the importance of "diffusing Christian light over a new race of men," and felt solemnly bound to improve every means which afforded the least hope of contributing to so desirable and joyful a result. During his interviews with Omai, he endeavoured to explain to him the Divine commandments, and to impress his heart with the infinite importance of a virtuous life. We concur with Mr. Hoare in the opinion, that "Granville Sharp might, with as much truth probably as any man that ever lived, have said, in the words of Terence's *Chremes* :

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto.

(*To be continued.*)

\*His performance on the double flute, is thus noticed by Mr. Shield : "This mode of performance was new in England. A pupil of Mr. Shield (Foster) afterwards adopted the instrument, and performed on it with great applause, in an overture composed by Mr. Shield for the opera of the "Noble Peasant."

## Latest from Liberia.

MONROVIA, COLONY OF LIBERIA, DEC. 31st, 1825.

*To the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

GENTLEMEN :—A direct conveyance by the brig "Union" of Portland, having, after a lapse of more than four months from the transient visit and sailing of the "Cyane," at length offered, in coincidence with the close of the year ; I will avail myself of the occasion to lay before the Board of Managers as circumstantial an exposition of the past and actual state of the Colony, as the ends of accurate information require. I have already heard of the safe arrival in the United States, of the ship just named—but have never ceased to regret, that the commander's views of duty, at the moment of her touching at the cape, entirely precluded the possibility of making by her, any detailed communications whatever.

Events of no surprising prominence of character, but still of the greatest importance to the welfare of the Colony, have occurred during the last year ; and in them, problems of general interest to the people—especially the coloured population of the United States, have, in my opinion, been satisfactorily, and conclusively solved : and, with emotions of unutterable gratitude to Heaven, I am happy to inform the Board, that the year under review, has proved a period of unprecedented, and almost unmingled prosperity to the Colony.

The scale of our operations is, indeed, exceedingly limited : but it admits a great variety of interests, all of which have been steadily progressive. The health of the settlement has been, for several months, restored, and scarcely known the ordinary interruptions of the slightest diseases. Every enterprise of our negotiations and of our arms abroad, has been crowned with entire success. Internal improvements have been carried to a length fully equal to our means. The necessities and comforts of life are accumulating in an abundance not known before. New resources are disclosing around us. An immense accession of influence and of territory has been secured ; and the foundations of moral and civil liberty, and of a mild and efficient system of government and laws, are beginning to be fortified by the affections and answerable habits of a free, obedient, and improving people.



The honorable Board of Managers—the numerous patrons whom motives of benevolence and patriotism have rallied around the cause of colonization—and your humble agents in this country, have been compelled to drink deep, and often, of the deep cup of disappointment ; and have perhaps yielded to a dejection to which human weakness, under so many forms of discouragement, is sometimes *obliged* to give way. But, as far as the actual state and prospects of your establishment in this country, can effect the great interest in which we labour, the dispensations of Providence are now reserved, and its language authorizes and inspires the liveliest sentiments of our gratitude and joy.

Those only upon whose hearts the destinies of this infant Colony have, for a course of years, maintained a strong hold, can enlist their sympathies in any answerable degree, with those of its founders and active friends. Such only can duly appreciate the value of that scale of success to which the age, the means, and the population of the settlement, of necessity confine it. The Colony is of less than 4 years standing :—it is situated in a corner of the habitable globe, visited by less than 12 American ships annually—the contiguous countries as well as the territory of the Colony itself, are covered with immense forests, and scantily peopled with impoverished savage tribes, whose wealth, industry, and arts, extend only to the wants of a mere animal existence. The settlers have never much exceeded three hundred ; and for the two first years, consisted of less than one hundred. The aid received from the United States has been, relative to its object, small ; and of the aid actually intended, a large part has, from imperfect experience, been injudiciously applied. The settlement, in its earlier stages, suffered severely from war, from sickness, from the engrossing character of the slave-trade ; from unworthy members, from a crude and imperfect mode of government, and from irregular supplies. Such, it is well known to all who have pursued this rising interest from the beginning, are the materials of a large portion of its history. And whatever has influenced so materially, its former growth, is obliged, to a certain extent, to be taken as the measure of its actual condition.

The interests of the settlement have become so diversified, as to admit of a complete survey only by reducing the information relating to each, under its appropriate head.

The disastrous influence of the climate of the country in for-

mer years, naturally suggests as first in interest, the inquiry respecting

### THE HEALTH OF THE COLONY.

It is my privilege to report to the Board the grateful fact, that since the month of August last, the most perfect health has been enjoyed by the settlers ; excepting a few cases of chronic decline, casualties, and a species of troublesome, but not dangerous, scorbutic affections, by which nearly all the emigrants to this country, are in their turn, affected. This evil commonly assails the constitution in the first year. One death only has ever occurred from this cause among the settlers ; and the patient is seldom or never, while suffering from these disorders, subject to any other.

Since my letter of the 17th June, three adults, all of whom were, at that date, in a lingering decline, have been removed from our number, by death ; with two small children. Of these, three were of the Hunter's company.

The question of the salubrity of Africa to the descendants of Africans, seems thus to be determined by the experiment.

The children and young persons above three years in the country, appear to be in every respect , as healthy, muscular and vigorous, as the natives of the coast. Adults the same length of time in Africa, acquire for the climate of the country, a strong predilection over every other. They have as much health, and as large a share of animation, as they ever possessed in America.

### THE CIVIL STATE OF THE COLONY,

Or the health of the social body, is a subject, which, from its intrinsic importance, and on account of the former agitations which it has suffered, merits a particular notice.

The system of government drawn up and adopted in August, 1824, and of which the qualified approbation of the Board was communicated the January following, with "permission to continue it as an experiment of the Agent," has, to the present time, undergone no material alteration. Some of the details have been a little extended, others either retrenched, or suffered to fall into disuse. But the system has, I flatter myself, proved itself, in its principles, entirely sufficient for the civil government of the Colony ; and still as liberal and popular as the republican prepossessions of the Board would prescribe. The apparent complexity of its structure, of the effects of which, in so young a settlement, the Managers very naturally express some fears, in a great measure

disappears in its practical operation. Small communities soon come to be agitated by the same diversity of interest,—to require the same variety of civil institutions, and to exact the same methods of securing, exercising, and ascertaining their rights, as larger societies. And a government, however limited as to the number of its subjects, must either assume the austerity of a despotic system, or become somewhat diffuse in its details.

I am certainly justified in the assertion that very few even of the most indolent minds amongst us, have not clear and precise ideas of our system. The last annual election of colonial officers in August, was distinguished by a dispassionate intelligence of selection, which afforded the best pledge of the kind yet given, of the increasing competency of the people for self-government. The election resulted in the appointment of such men to the offices of the colony, as not only possess the essential qualifications for a proper discharge of their functions, but who were known to be entirely disposed to a cordial co-operation with their Agent.—The civil prerogatives and government of the colony, and the body of laws by which they are respectively secured and administered, are the pride of all. Former experience has convinced them of the absurdity of straining a point of personal independence to such lengths as to weaken the force of the laws, or impede the energetic movements of the executive arm.—The first appearance of such turbulent examples (and every expedition from the United States furnishes several) is now seen to excite disgust, and awaken a general sentiment of derision and opposition; which seldom fails more effectually to instruct and cure the ignorance and perversity against which it is directed, than the coercive power of law itself.

The litigious practices of the first and second years of the Colony, have been so far reformed by the accession of more friendly feelings, and correcter ideas of moral justice, amongst the colonists, as, for some months past, to have left the courts of justice little else to do, but to verify transfers of property, and announce, in cases of difficulty, the just construction of the laws.

In the punishment of offences, the most lenient maxims of modern jurisprudence have been observed, by way of experiment on human nature, in that particular modification of it exhibited by the population of this Colony. The result has been, *so far*, favourable to the policy pursued. The passion to which corporeal

and other ignominious punishments address their arguments, is certainly one of the least ingenuous of the human constitution. The necessity of depending for the safety of society on an appeal to these principles, is ever to be viewed either as the last resort of a tyrannical government, or the last means of prolonging the social existence of a corrupt and degraded people. I am happy in the persuasion I have, that I hold the balance of the laws in the midst of a people with whom the first perceptible inclination of the sacred scale, determines authoritatively, their sentiments and their conduct. There are individual exceptions ; but I can affirm with confidence, that, making the necessary allowances on account of a neglected education, and a situation in early life unfavourable to the developement of the noblest sentiments of the human mind, the people of the Colony can detect as readily, and reprobate as cordially, any deviations from the line of moral integrity and civil justice, as any other body of people in the world. These remarks extend to the body of the settlers. Individual instances of meanness of spirit, relaxed principles, and a blind and selfish obstinacy of intellect, there certainly are amongst us ; and they give occasional activity to the laws established for the protection of property, and the security of individual rights. But these instances neither affect the general character of the colonists, nor require any modification of a description generally applicable to a decided majority of their number. And if this delineation of their character is perceived, as it must be, to disagree with that of former communications, it forms another gratifying proof, that no community is stationary in its moral habits, and that to a young christian society, there is ample scope for every species of laudable improvement.

#### THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COLONY,

Has ever been regarded and treated by the direction both in the United States and this country, as second to no other interest to be provided for ; and it is matter of regret to myself, and must prove somewhat surprising to the Board, that the results have been equal neither to the importance of this branch of industry, in itself, nor to the exertions and hopes which have had its advancement for their object.

One hundred and twenty sections of plantation lands have been surveyed, and allotted to as many different families. But with the exception of the ten sections given to the settlers on the St.

Paul's river, all these lands are, as respects their soil and position, ill-adapted to cultivation. The richest lands of the cape, either degenerate into rocky, precipitous ledges, on the one hand, or are subject to inundations of salt or stagnant water, on the other. The dry and easily-wrought soil of the lands lying between the extremes, is light and sterile. The former demand, for reducing them to tillage, more labour and expensethan can yet be afforded; the latter promise but poorly to repay the more moderate labor of bringing them under cultivation.—Few examples of decided success in cultivating the lands of the Colony in the improved methods of civilized countries, have yet been given. The best process of clearing and tillage is not certainly known; and the prospect of realizing, at an early period, an adequate return for the expense and labour of a fair experiment, is unhappily considered as doubtful. Most of the settlers are able to find the means of acquiring a subsistence for themselves and families, in other pursuits; and without abandoning altogether, the intention of cultivating their lands, too generally concur in deferring the labour to some future period.

The crops of the last year succeeded extremely well, until near the time of harvest; when the husbandman's plagues in tropical countries, assailed with scarcely less than Egyptian variety, and nearly devastated the hopes of the year. Deer, monkeys, porcupines, and a small species of the Gazelle,\* resorted in troops to the plantations, and sometimes laid acres waste in a single morning. Several species of birds, and innumerable insects succeeded in myriads, and completed the ravages of their predecessors. Every kind of crop seems in this country to be liable to an enemy, provided by its nature, with appropriate powers of destruction. The means of protecting them, practised by the natives of the country, exact too much labour and pains of the cultivator, to be ever generally adopted in the Colony; and others employed in the West Indies, are yet but imperfectly understood.—The most active and formidable of these destroyers, can however, scarcely retain their accustomed haunts another season; and the cultivation of a larger number of contiguous farms, will tend to preserve them all from the depredations to which singly, and insulated by a dense forest, they have hitherto been exposed, from every species of mischievous animals.

\* *Ac. Fillintomboc.*

In my last communication to the Board, I had the honor to submit the result of the surveys then lately made, of the waters and contiguous lands, of the Montserado river. A further examination has ascertained, that all the lands of Cape Montserado fit for cultivation, after reserving the site of the town, (which comprehends an extent of 2 miles in length by 12 in breadth) amount to no more than 550 acres.—The Cape Territory\* is completely insulated, by the water on three sides, and by a level tract of sea-sand on the fourth.—Measured from N. W. to S. E. its length is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles; from N. E. to S. W. (directly across from the river to the ocean) its average width is  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile.—Every section of the Cape Territory has been appropriated to settlers; of whom 38 families were obliged to be sent to the St. Paul's lands. Ten families have already received their allotment on that river; and the other twenty-eight (resident in Monrovia) will be placed as soon as the necessary surveys can be accomplished.

No lands fit for tillage, not actually appropriated, can now be found within four miles of Monrovia; such only excepted as have been left by special convention, in the hands of the natives, for their subsistence. This circumstance will be seen to require a considerable modification of the views embraced in the original plan of the settlement.

Farmers cannot bear a separation from the lands on the cultivation of which their subsistence depends; and all future emigrants of that avocation, must, of necessity, be appointed to the St. Paul's, and other sister settlements.

Mechanics and traders will naturally choose to settle in Monrovia. But are they to be provided with lands? and if so, where?—If on the St. Paul's they will never cultivate them. I have thought it best to profit by the very faults of our settlers.—I am sorry in one view to say, that many of the original holders, will forfeit their sections next summer, for neglecting to make the requisite improvements in the term prescribed by the regulations of the Board.—These lands when resumed, I propose shall be subdivided into sections of two and three acres; and these sections to be severally re-allotted to such of the original grantees (indulging them with a second probation) as promise to cultivate them; and

\* The Cape Territory comprehends about 1,600 acres: of which the reserves amount to 550 acres;—site of the town, 500 acres;—plantations, 550 acres.

to such mechanics, &c. as shall hereafter be permitted to settle in Monrovia. By this arrangement, 100 additional families can be accommodated with small plantations on the cape; and the whole of the territory be at once placed in a way of being speedily brought under cultivation—an event in every view most desirable.

I am happy in being able to assure the Board, from an actual survey of the St. Paul's Territory, that its actual fertility and other advantages, are fully equal to the opinion expressed of it in my communications of May and June last. Nothing but disasters of the most extraordinary nature, can prevent the settlement of sturdy farmers now happily seated on it, from making their way directly to respectability and abundance. The small *Treatise on Tropical Agriculture*, which I hope the Board has not forgotten to prepare, can hardly fail to be of particular service to our farmers; who, whether we consider the importance of their success to the prosperity of the Colony, or the temptations of immediate gain, which continually solicit them to engage in other pursuits, require every encouragement and aid that can be supplied them.

#### THE MEANS OF COLONISTS TO OBTAIN THE COMFORTS OF LIFE, AND ACQUIRE PROPERTY.

The future prospects of the settlers necessarily connects itself too closely with their actual state, easily to bear a separation.—As the resources of the country come to be more unfolded; and the arts and improvements of civilized life to be more fully introduced, it cannot be doubted that whatever appertains to the comforts of their situation, will be possessed by settlers in far greater abundance than at the present time. But I can even now assure the Board, that except a very few of the emigrants the most independent and easy in their circumstances in America, they generally live in a style of neatness and comfort, approaching to elegance in many instances, unknown before their arrival in this country. An interesting family twelve months in Africa, destitute of the means of furnishing a comfortable table, is not known; and an *individual*, of whatever sex or age, without an ample provision of decent apparel, cannot, I believe, be found. I descend to these particular instances that the Board may deduce from them more general conclusions. Similar instances in proof of the easy circumstances of the people may be multiplied. *All* are successfully engaged in building their dwelling and other

(houses ; and at the same time improving their town premises—many their plantations)—and all these labours, it is to be recollected, are supplementary to the general burden of finding for their families in the meantime, a reputable and comfortable maintenance. There is scarcely an active and industrious youth in the concluding stages of his minority, who has not provided himself with a part of his building materials, in anticipation of the change shortly to take place in his civil relations. Every family, and nearly every single adult person in the Colony, has the means of employing from one to four native labourers, at an expense of from 4 to 6 dollars the month. And several of the settlers when called upon in consequence of sudden emergencies of the public service, have made repeated advances of merchantable produce, to the amount of 300 to 600 dollars, each.

Even these instances of the general prosperity, I am sensible, could not be relied upon, had they left an outstanding balance of debts against the colonists. But I am happy to inform the Board, that their settlement is free of such obligations. The last credit allowed the people (originally of \$5,000, by a house in Boston, taken during my absence in 1824,) has, during the present week, been honorably discharged: and regulations of the most positive nature have been established to preserve every individual of the Colony from a similar imprudence hereafter. No credits can be allowed, on pain of forfeiture of the amount, without the written permission of the Agent.

Another proof as little equivocal as the preceding, of the prosperous state of the settlement, is, the very high prices of every kind of mechanical, and even of common labour, not capable of being performed by natives.

The wages paid to carpenters, masons, smiths, &c. (and those far from being accomplished in their respective trades,) is \$2 per diem—and to common labourers, from 75 cts. to \$1 25. Even at these prices, it is often impossible to obtain mechanics and labourers to carry on the most important buildings of the settlement—a public inconvenience which is wholly attributable to the general prosperity of individuals.

The Board will perhaps, with myself, regard with some distrust, these flattering testimonies of affluence, when informed that it has its source beyond the limits of the Colony.

(The natives of the country, but particularly of the interior,



notwithstanding their habitual indolence, produce, after supplying their own wants, a considerable surplus of the great staple of this part of Western Africa—rice. The moderate rate at which this grain is purchased by such as deal directly with the growers ; and the various uses of which it is susceptible in the domestic economy, easily place the means of supplying the first necessities of nature in the reach of every one. Rice, moreover, always commands a ready sale with transient trading vessels or coasters ; and forms an useful object of exchange for other provisions and necessities, between individuals of the Colony.

To this succeeds as next in importance, the Camwood of the country ; of which several hundred tons every year pass through the hands of the settlers ;\* and serve to introduce, in return, the provisions and groceries of America, and the dry goods and wares both of Europe and America, which, from the necessary dependence of the members of every society on each other, come soon to be distributed for the common advantage of all.

The Ivory of Liberia is less abundant, and less valuable, than that of several other districts of Western Africa. It, however, forms a valuable article of barter and export, to the settlement ; and the amount annually bought and sold, falls between 5 and 8 thousand dollars.

The entire trade of the Colony, altho' attended with some evils, by taking the place of other branches of industry, of more permanent and certain utility, has been productive of many present advantages. The late regulation to which it has been subjected, particularly that of establishing factories ; and requiring all the barter trade of the Colony to be carried on through them, on penalty of the forfeiture of goods otherwise employed in trade, promise, both to render the operation of converting merchandise into produce, more profitable than hitherto, to individuals, and less prejudicial to every other branch of industry.

The settlement continues to receive considerable supplies of live stock, from the country ; and is beginning to breed several of the domestic animals with success. But the insecurity of this sort of property in a settlement of recent formation—the constant

\* The " Union," which conveys this letter, has taken in 100 tons of this wood, chiefly at the Colony.

resort of adroit and thievish natives, has tended to discourage, and divert from this object, the attention formerly bestowed upon it.

Our fish are large, abundant, and excellent. A single seine supplies Monrovia, by means of a few drafts in the mornings, with about a thousand pounds of fish, weekly.

It is ardently to be wished, and may be rationally expected, that agriculture will, at no very distant period, succeed to the too exclusively cultivated *trade*, of the Colony. Its pre-eminent natural advantages for adopting with success, this surest of all the means of plenty and independence, indeed, preclude all doubt, as to its ultimate ascendancy over every other pursuit. The great body of the lands of the interior are of a superior richness. Take the most productive districts in the United States, between Boston and Charleston; and they will rank far behind every part of the territory of Liberia, dry enough for tillage; except the rocky summits of Montserado. Manure is much more easily made, and more abundantly obtained, than in temperate or insulated countries. The few of the colonists who have given their attention to the culture of rice, have, with half the labour that a wheat-crop requires, reared (and, but for vermin, would have harvested) on a given quantity of land, *more than double* the ordinary produce of that grain.

#### THE BUILDINGS AND OTHER WORKS OF CONSTRUCTION,

Carried on in the Colony at the public expense, since my last detailed advices of June last, have been chiefly those of individuals. The re-construction of fort Stockton, and the government-house of the *St. Paul's settlement*, are nearly completed; and some progress made in the erection of a new range of houses at Thompson-town.

Fort Stockton, after the labour of a twelve-month, is nearly rebuilt in a style of beauty, strength and solidity, to which it could never have been brought without the changes introduced in the original plan of the work, and the extensive demolition, which it has undergone. The platform consists of strong mason-work covered with cement. The ascent is by a stone stair-caise. The interior consists of a long gallery, of which the walls are double, on each side; and form, with the earth and gravel in the intervening space, a perfectly impenetrable terrace-work, of 12 feet in thickness. To

this gallery there is a single entrance by means of a grated passage from the platform : and the whole perfectly ventilated by means of strong gratings in a wall 7 feet thick, of solid mason-work. The exterior of the whole work is well painted and white-washed ; and may be seen among the first objects which present themselves to strangers, at the distance of from 20 to 30 miles from the cape.

The new agency-house is so far completed, that it may be rendered habitable in a very short time, whenever it shall become necessary to enlarge our accommodations for any of the public servants of the Colony, or agency. But it is desirable to finish it as it has been begun, *with American materials* ; of which the supply on hand has been for some time past, consumed, on that and other buildings. The present government house being entirely commodious, and other objects of expense and improvement in the Colony continually pressing their most urgent claims on my attention, I have hitherto suffered the progress of that building to give way to every other ; but intend to have it completed before the return of the next rainy season.

The exterior view of the government house now nearly finished, on the St. Pauls, is enclosed. It is intended to establish a telegraphic communication between the two settlements, by means of signals displayed from the cupola of that building, and the flag-staff of fort Stockton. The direct distance is about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

A small part only of the *Receptacle*, of which the plan and utility were explained in my letter of June last, has yet been finished. But, of the public buildings projected for the ensuing season, it stands next in course ; and I trust will be in readiness to receive 80 or 90 emigrants, as early as the 1st of April, and at least, one month before the commencement of the bad season.

The settlers, most of whom are extensively engaged in building, have suffered severe disappointments in the failure of no less than three contracts made the year past, with American shippers, in different parts of the United States, for lumber, paints, and nails. Death and unforeseen accidents are indeed supposed to have caused two instances of this failure ; but it is certainly jeopardizing the interests of a Colony of the rising importance of this, in a very undue degree, to subject it in future, to disappointments of this nature ; which, under existing circumstances, it is liable at any time to suffer from the avarice or caprice of some two or three mercan-

tile houses in America ; on whose assurances it has unfortunately depended for the most necessary supplies. The trade and resources of the Colony authorize the employment of shipping of its own : and experience seems to have proved that any other dependence is precarious and absurd. The intelligence and enterprise of a sufficient number of the people are, I trust, equal to the undertaking ; and the year now commencing, it is hoped, will see so desirable an appendage of the settlement secured to it.

The first successful essay in the construction of small vessels, has been made the past year. I have built, and put upon the rice trade, between our factories to the leeward, and Cape Montserado, a schooner of ten tons burthen, adapted to the passage of the bars of all the navigable rivers of the coast.\* The sailing qualities of this vessel are so superior, that before the wind, it is believed, few or none of the numerous pirates of the coast, can overtake her. She makes a trip, freighted both ways, in ten days ; and commonly carries and brings merchandise and produce, to the amount of from 4 to 8 hundred dollars each trip. Another craft of equal tonnage, but of very indifferent materials, has been built by one of the Colonists. The model of the St. Paul's (the public boat) was furnished by myself ; but she was constructed under the superintendence of J. Blake, who has thus entitled himself to the character of an useful and ingenious mechanic.

The batteaux and boats of some burthen fit for the coasting service, have multiplied during the year, from 4 to 14 ; besides a flotilla of small river-craft, rendered indispensable by our peninsular situation, the intercourse between our different establishments, and the present dependent state of the Colony upon the trade carried on by numerous inlets, with the interior.

Two small churches have been reared up since the month of August, under circumstances of the most gratifying nature :— which will be more fully detailed in another part of this communication.

A labour of somewhat doubtful success, has been voluntarily undertaken, and hitherto carried on with very commendable zeal, by the settlers. It is no less than an attempt to convey the waters of the Montserado to the ocean, by means of a navigable canal—

\* On the day following the launch of this vessel, 78 persons, chiefly females, were carried in it, over Montserado bar, in an excursion of pleasure, with perfect safety. Three seas rolled over, but could not sink her.

in the expectation, 1st, of obtaining a channel of sufficient depth to admit the entrance into the river of vessels of burden : and 2dly, to avoid the inconveniences and dangers of the bar at the river's mouth. Altho' I am willing to encourage the experiment, I have no confidence in its final success. The action of the sea on the one hand, and of the powerful current of a large river, on the other—both forces directed upon a bank of moveable sand—must mock any little labours of the spade at present, in the power of this settlement to oppose to so resistless an agency.

On a general review of the permanent improvements of the past year, particularly of the latter half of it, I have every reason to be satisfied, that, relatively to the means employed, the utmost that could be proposed, has been accomplished.

### THE MEANS OF LITERARY AND OTHER KINDS OF MENTAL IMPROVEMENT.

The importance of schools instituted on an improved and liberal plan, and conducted with spirit, by persons of superior qualifications, viewed in connexion with the hopes and objects of this Colony, has, I persuade myself, from the first, been duly appreciated by the Board. But nothing on this subject commensurate with the original design, has been yet done. For founding and carrying on such institutions, both the means, and conductors must, for the present, come from the United States.—As much, perhaps, has been effected towards the maintenance of good schools in the Colony, (certainly it has been attempted,) as the means and instruments attainable have allowed. But I am, and might remain, less satisfied with what has been accomplished in this respect, than with the attention given to any other leading interest of the Colony. No less than FIVE schools for different descriptions of learners, exclusive of the Sunday Schools, have been supported during the year, and still continue in operation.—The youths and children of the Colony discover for their age, unequivocal proofs of a good degree of mental accomplishment. The contrast between children several years in the enjoyment of the advantages of the Colony, and most others of the same age, arriving from the United States, is striking—and would leave an entire stranger at no loss to distinguish the one from the other. Should emigration, but for a very few months, cease to throw the little ignorants into the Colony, from abroad, the phenomenon of a child of five years, unable to read, it is believed, would not exist among us.—But the

pleasing hopes which this state of things tend to generate, in regard to the future population of the Colony, are damped and embittered, by the certainty, that the opening flowers of intellect are never to ripen under any means of instruction, at present enjoyed in the settlement. The deserving individuals engaged in the different departments of instruction, have advanced a considerable number of our youths to a point of improvement, beyond which, neither teacher or pupil have the means of proceeding. And is this moderate measure of mental culture to remain, forever, the standard of intellect in the Colony?—are minds, as capable of rising along the higher gradations on the scale of improvement, as those of any other people on earth, to be doomed, in perpetuity, to an involuntary detention on the very threshold of knowledge? To this inquiry, the munificence of the American public, to which I desire respectfully to address it,—and the disinterested zeal of a few accomplished and sensible persons, of both sexes, can alone furnish a favourable reply. But where are the youthful philanthropists of my country?—in what have those loud professions of zeal in the great cause of human happiness, of civilization, and freedom, which I once heard from a thousand mouths, resulted? To say nothing of that Christian charity, which, when I left the United States, appeared to pour floods of compassionate tears over the moral abasement of the African race: Are we to expect in vain from the thousand seminaries and fountains of knowledge in that favoured country, a single young man or woman of sufficient enterprise and generosity, to conduct the sacred stream to this Colony? A four years' residence on this distant coast, has rendered me almost a stranger to the present youth of America. But to the immortal honor of a large portion of my own particular associates in the walks of literature, I mention it, that **THEY ARE**, at this moment, scattering the rudiments of civilization and Christianity over the four quarters of the globe. Egypt, Syria, Ceylon, Burmah, Coromandel, the wilds of Arkansas, and the Islands of the Pacific, are sharing their generous labours; and are hereafter to vie with each other in the monuments by which they will perpetuate to posterity their cherished memory.—We want in Africa, neither visionaries, ostentatious pretenders to science or goodness, nor the cast-off members of any of the liberal professions in America, who encumber the surface of the society they float on. They would soon become as ridiculous and useless, as miserable in this coun-

try. But a few young persons of modest merit—disinterested, indefatigable, disposed to solitude—of polished manners, and extensive acquirements, would in vain inquire for a situation of greater, present, or prospective usefulness. And *because* useful, such individuals would be happy. But the youthful mind incapable of being fired at the idea of so noble a sphere of useful exertion as the moral wants of this Colony, at the present moment, present, *deserves*, I could almost say—(but Heaven avert it,) to undergo a long existence of inaction, and effeminacy, in some congenial circle of its choice—till death shall do the world a service, by sweeping it of so unworthy an incumbrance.

### THE DEFENSIVE FORCE OF THE COLONY.

The organization of all the militia, into two corps, as announced in my letter of June, has since, been carried into complete effect. Both are appropriately uniformed; and the oldest highly advanced in the practical science, and discipline of regular troops.

The artillery corps numbers about 50 men; the infantry, 40. Detachments from both have been several times called into actual service within a few months: and the fruits of their good and soldierlike conduct, which in every instance has proved entirely successful, are destined to last, and perpetuate the recollection of their services, as long as this Colony remains. The Board will learn from the accompanying copies of letters to the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, that my allusion is to the destruction of *three slave factories*, in Liberia bay, and the liberation of 116 slaves; who are now blessed with freedom and abundance, in the bosom of this Colony.

The establishment has 15 large carriage, and three small pivot guns; most of them newly invented, and all fit for service. I have contrived a species of carriage involving a complication of the principles of the *sea-coast*, *field*, and *garrison* carriages, but exactly resembling neither; which is found more perfectly adapted to the service of the Colony, than any other.

A strong double battery, to be mounted with 4 of our best guns, is laid out at two different elevations of the height of Thompson-town; and when completed, will afford entire protection to vessels at anchor in our roads—a point of the first importance; as our waters are every month infested with pirates of abandoned character.

## THE RELIGIOUS CHARACTER OF THE COLONISTS.

The information comprised under this head, relates, 1st, *To such public and ostensible testimonies of religious character as are afforded by the religious professions, institutions and observances of the people; and 2dly, To the actual influence of religious principles on the character of individuals.*

From the first class of these testimonies, the judgment of the second, must in part, be formed:—and both are perhaps too flattering to the hopes of the pious friends of the Colony in America, to be admitted by many without hesitation.

Happily, a large proportion of the settlers were, previous to their emigration, the members of religious connections in America. A change of circumstances, the greatest almost, that could arrive, has severely tried the sincerity of their profession; and, as was to be anticipated, has proved that a few were little worthy of the character they had assumed. But most have sustained the trial with honor to themselves, and to the holy religion of their adoption. They are now becoming settled in their circumstances, and fixed and regular in their religious habits and duties. The true gold has gained a purer lustre in the furnace through which it has passed. The pains which this class of settlers have bestowed on their own religious improvement, have both qualified and stimulated them, to advance the spiritual interest of others. Through a Divine blessing, their example and exertions have been successful. Their ranks have every year been replenishing. More than 50 persons, embracing nearly the whole young adult population—have, in 15 months past, become the serious and devout professors of christianity.

It is almost unnecessary to add, that the Sabbath is universally observed with all the outward marks of religious decorum—that domestic worship is common—that Sunday schools, both for native and settlers' children, are zealously sustained, numerous, attended, and productive of the happiest fruits—that there is a general attendance of all classes, on the public, and occasional worship of God—and that charitable and pious associations, chiefly for the religious tuition and bringing up of native children, are on foot, and appear to have been undertaken in that spirit of intelligent zeal which ensures both perseverance and success.

During the latter half of the past year, two commodious and beautiful chapels, each sufficient to contain several hundred wor-



shippers, have been erected, and consecrated to the christians' God. The well adjusted, and plainly ornamented spire of one of these, is among the first objects which occurs to the observer on approaching the town, from the road-stead. These little churches stand on the confines of a once gloomy forest, consecrated to the demon-worship of the natives : and while they are beheld by christians as new and joyful landmarks of the widening empire of the son of God, are regarded by the neighbouring tribes as monuments of the incipient overthrow of their superstitious, and as prophetic beacons of its hastening dissolution. These edifices were erected wholly by the personal services and voluntary contributions of their respective parishioners :—and although' nearly finished and fitted up in a style of neat and simple ornament, equal to that of most reputable churches in America, have devolved upon the congregation no debt, either for materials or labour. The encouragement in various ways afforded by the intelligent females of the settlement, to this creditable and pious labour, has contributed greatly to its successful and early accomplishment.

A Divine Providence prepares and employs the instruments of his own work. This remark is verified in a higher degree by the peculiar character of the talents engaged in the preaching of the Gospel, and administration of the officers of religion amongst us, than it is necessary, or quite proper for me to state. The Board may, however, rely with confidence, that the pure doctrines and precepts of christianity are here taught us, both from the desk, and by the examples of its ministers. In a community having seven licensed preachers, and others who occasionally officiate in a subordinate sphere of activity, it is not to be expected that a general commendation shall be equally applicable to all ; or that in the matter or manner of conducting the public offices of religion, there should not be some defects and abuses, which every serious and enlightened christian must contemplate with sorrow. But these exceptions, I believe to be fewer and of less moment, than the Board may, not without reason, have been led to apprehend. An enlightening and reforming spirit is evidently operating upon the minds, and gradually modelling after the great example of all moral perfection, the characters, both of our priests and people. Party spirit seldom makes its appearance ; and in its place, a holier and sublimer emulation—an ambition of excelling in the fear and

knowledge of God, has succeeded ; and in many, and multiplying instances, “produces the peaceable fruits of righteousness.”

Under the second division of the article of information, already in part anticipated, it is a circumstance to *me*, and I trust will prove to the Society, more substantially satisfactory than any others I have to communicate : that their Colony is in deed and reality a christian community. The Holy Author of our religion and salvation, has made the hearts of a large proportion of these people, the temples of the Divine Spirit. The faith of the everlasting gospel, with an evidence and strength which nothing short of the power of the Almighty can produce or sustain, has become the animating spring of action, the daily rule of life, the source of immortal hope and ineffable enjoyment, to a large proportion of your Colonists. God is known in his true character—his worship is celebrated in its purity—the doctrines of salvation are received in their genuine simplicity, by very many. Occurrences of a favourable or depressing aspect are regarded as dispensations of the Almighty, and followed with correspondent feelings of gratitude or humiliation. Tears of affectionate joy or sorrow are often seen to flow in the house of God, from hearts silently melting under the searching influence of his word.—I have seen the proudest and profanest foreigners that ever visited the Colony, trembling with amazement and conviction, almost literally in the descriptive phraseology of St. Paul, “Find the secrets of their hearts made manifest, and falling down upon their faces, worship God, and report that God is in the midst” of this people “of a truth.”

These facts I have judged it my duty to state, to the praise of that God to whom we are entirely indebted for so precious a testimony in his favour,—and for the information of thousands in the United States, to whose prayers and pious attentions we may, under the Most High, refer it.—I am not insensible of the delicacy and responsibility attending the publication of a statement of this nature ; and of the great danger a more cautious pen than mine might incur, of communicating on it, either too little or too much. But as the grand secret of the improving circumstances of this Colony,—of the respect it commands without, and of the happiness, order, and industry which reigns within it, is wrapped up in the controlling influence of religion on the temper and habits of the people, I should greatly wrong the cause of truth, by suppressing, or too lightly passing by, a topic of such leading importance.

The precious hopes of an immortality of vigorous and beatific existence in the presence of God and the Redeemer, are no inefficient principles of action and of happiness in the human mind, even in the midst of this mixed and tumultuous life : and they have attended and sustained a large number whom providence has taken from us, till they passed rejoicing, the limits of mortality, and left us in tears. Many more are now waiting, full of the same "glorious hopes," for the final summons of their Heavenly Master.—And shall it ever be, that a torrent of infidelity, heresy, or irreligion, shall, in judgment for our ingratitude, find its way from the dark caverns of hell to this consecrated retreat of the humble worshippers of God ; and convert to a moral waste, a young plantation which He condescends himself to water and to keep !

### THE MORALS OF THE COLONISTS,

Like those of all other people, so naturally take their character from the nature and influence of their religion, that in order to appreciate the first, it is only necessary to form a just estimate of the last.—The moral character of the Colonists is, generally, good. There is a powerful preponderance of example and of influence on the side of moral virtue ; and every species of open vice is, by the general frown, either put out of countenance or driven out of sight. Occasional instances of drunkenness, licentiousness, and fraud, there certainly are ; but these instances are either so unfrequent in themselves, or so cautiously concealed from public view, as very seldom to come to light.—In either case, a conclusion is authorized favourable to the general tone of moral feeling, and the correctness of the general practice.

The promptness with which occasional offenders against the laws for the conservation of the public peace, are brought to justice ; and the sentiment of generous indignation which their offences never fail to awaken, are among the surest criteria of a sound and healthy state of the public morals, which can be witnessed in any community. Except for military offences, not a single individual of the Colonists have suffered imprisonment since the month of February, 1824 ; a period of 22 months. The vice of common swearing is, I am happy to inform the Board, unknown in the Colony. In such odium and abhorrence is the practice held, that nothing but the momentary intoxication of ungovernable passion, can extort from those formerly most enslaved to the habit, expressions once as natural as the breath they respired. It is to be hoped,

that the numerous children of the Colony, and more than 60 native boys attached to the different families, will grow up untainted with this offensive immorality ; and show at least *one* example of a society in which it shall be as unfashionable as it is sinful, to violate without a pretext, one of the most express of the commands of God.

But there are some blemishes on the moral character of individuals, for which the reputation of the Colony is obliged to suffer in the estimation of the world ; but which, I am convinced, every month is contributing to remove ; which it will, in a very short time, be unjust to make the ground of a general reproach to the settlement.

The moral force of a contract is by too many persons quite too imperfectly felt, and understood. There *has* been much less attention to punctuality in the discharge of debts, and in the fulfilment of promises ; and much less fidelity shown in the execution of trusts voluntarily assumed, than the laws of equity, and the intercourse of society, exact of its members.—Idleness has been the cause of much poverty and distress, to many ; but has happily, in most cases, wrought its own cure, in the punishment which never fails to follow it.

Human nature demands, and *will exact*, some form of recreation of all who are clothed with it. Force it from such diversions as are innocent and improving, and we drive it in quest of gratification, to such as are neither.—Acting from this persuasion, I have encouraged, and mingled with the Colonists, in the cheerful celebration of our religious, civil, and social festivals ; have patronized a moderate and appropriate pomp, on military, and other public occasions ;—I have preserved to our courts of justice, the quaint, but venerable forms of antiquity ; and, generally, keeping at a proper remove from levity and excess, the point I have laboured to compass, has been to throw an air of cheerfulness, and gaiety if possible, over the severest and most serious duties of life. The happy effects of this cheap expedient are, every day becoming more apparent ; and should an opposite policy be adopted by any future agent, from mistaken views of religious obligation, from a morbid temperament of character, or from supercilious weakness, it is impossible not to predict the very worst effects on the moral character of the people.

## ACCESSIONS OF TERRITORY—AND NEW ESTABLISHMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE COLONY.

The new purchase of territory on the St. Paul's concluded in May last, of which ample advices were transmitted in June, has been subsequently confirmed by every testimony of sincerity in the power of the native authorities to afford. The first surveys and allotment of lands on that territory, have been accomplished. Ten families have proceeded to occupy it, who are now employed in clearing their farms, and building. The government house, connected with which is a ware-house for the settlement, will be shut in, and ready for use, the latter part of January. A wharf has been finished, and the river-street opened, in front of all the appropriated lands.

For the convenience and proper government of this settlement, it has been thought advisable to appoint several civil and other officers ; and frame a simple code of provisional regulations. These regulations are forwarded with the other documents, &c. enclosed, relating to this settlement ; which the Board will perceive to be in perfect accordance with the laws of the Colony, and intended to unite perfectly, the new, with its elder sister establishment at the Cape. As soon as the government house shall be sufficiently advanced, it is my intention to pass as large a part of my time on the St. Paul's, as the duties I owe to the Colony at large, will allow. My confidence in the rapid growth of this settlement is confirmed by every event hitherto connected with its formation. Its natural situation combines every desirable advantage of soil, water, timber, and salubrity : and its commencement has been marked by the favouring circumstances of tranquility with the native tribes—a seasoned company of laborious settlers—and a settled and approved system of civil regulations.

The new establishment of Thompsonstown being exclusively devoted to the residence and instruction of liberated Africans, falls more properly under the notice of the report which, as the U. S. agent for those people, I have the honour this day, to make to the Department of the Navy. The buildings of that establishment are slowly progressive ; and the lands contiguous in a way of being brought, at an early period, under cultivation. Large plantations are now in preparation, on the northern side of the Cape—which promise, in the ensuing season, to divest it of a large portion of the savage forest, which at present covers it.

The temporary accommodation of the 116 liberated Africans, lately added to the agency, has led to the formation of a new village, about equidistant from the settlements of Thompsontown, and Monrovia. It is now, being built by the Africans themselves, in their own style: and will consist of about 20 dwellings—Of these people, about 40 boys and girls under 14 years, have been distributed among the settlers, with whose families they are, in effect, incorporated: and if their welfare and improvement can be sufficiently assured by this disposition of them, it will continue. These children enjoy the advantages of the school for the instruction of the native children of the settlement.

I had the honour in my last, of June, to advise the Board of a proposition made by King Freeman of Young Sesters, to lease to the Colony a portion of his territory situated on both sides of the river, of that name. This cession was accordingly carried into effect, by a deed (inclosed) of the 27th of October, 1825. A factory for the purchase of rice, as the best means of commencing the occupation of this territory went into operation upon it, soon after.

A mischievous individual, (since punished and with his family expelled the country,) caused the destruction of the store-house, in November. But it was immediately rebuilt without any expense on our part, and the entire loss made good by King Freeman. Owing to the jealousies of his neighbours, this sensible headman has relinquished for the present, his claim on the specified lease-rent—with a mutual understanding, that no considerable number of American settlers are to be sent to take possession of the country, until the experience of a few months shall have satisfied his less discerning neighbours of the advantages to be derived from a settlement of civilized people. In the mean time, it will be seen from the inclosed documents, relating to this business, that there is a mutual intention and wish that schools should be founded—the establishment enlarged—and the way prepared as effectually and speedily as possible, for commencing on the river Sesters, one of the settlements of the Colony.

King Freeman, according to the term of the deed, has furnished our factor resident at the Sesters, with a numerous company of labourers, who, under his direction, are preparing a large rice plantation, on our account. Large quantities of rice are purchasing for the United States' agency; and it is intended never to relinquish the hold so providentially obtained on this district of the

coast, even should the motives resulting from its immediate advantages to the Colony cease to be so great as at the present time.

I have the honor to inclose an ample abstract, and copies of all the documents relating to these transactions—*particularly*, the original deed which the Board will of course direct to be filed for preservation.

It affords me the highest satisfaction to be able to inform the Board, that their territorial claims are in a fair train of being soon extended likewise, to the important district of Grand Bassa.

We have for several years had in that populous and valuable country, a strong and increasing interest; and so late as the last month, were on the point of concluding with the king and headmen, a large purchase of lands, in the heart of their country. But the small party, in doubt, rendered it expedient not to press the transaction to a premature conclusion, but to accept, for the present, of a cession which all were united in making us. This cession gives us the perpetual use and occupation of an indefinite extent of country on the South Branch of the St. John's river, without any stipulated rent; and will eventually, as intended by the king and most of his chiefs, lead to the formation of a settlement, and the permanent occupation of the country.

We have accordingly, built a commodious factory on the South Branch of the St. John's river, three miles from its mouth; at which one of our most worthy and respectable people, with a part of his family, constantly resides. No equitable means in my power, will be omitted to secure this invaluable position permanently to the Colony. The *St. Paul's schooner*, of ten tons, plies once a fortnight between the Cape and the Sesters, touching always, going and returning, at the St. John's. The factor of Bassa, has it also in his instructions to clear and plant a large farm, the approaching season; for which purpose king John has agreed to furnish the requisite labourers.

The Board will, with myself, be sensible of the extremely cautious policy necessary to be observed in this extension of our limits, along more than 100 miles of the sea-coast, towards the different tribes which they are beginning to embrace. I have omitted no pains to secure, by means of treaties, legations, small presents, and an uniform course of justice and kindness, sustained by a respectable display of military force, the confidence and good faith of the natives. The helping hand of Divine Providence, has mani-

festly attended and given success to our otherwise idle exertions. And in the observances of a similar conduct, succeeded by the same invisible but most effectual agency, are all our future hopes placed. One stroke of a bungling, or headlong policy, on our part, I am certain might convert to disappointment, confusion, and war; a state of things so prosperous; and prospects so replete with promise. These tender elements of the future strength of the Colony, are not to be forced by too much working, on the one hand, to an unnatural maturity—nor, will they on the other coalesce, and arrive at any important results without incessant and judicious care.

The money expended on these various objects has necessarily been considerable: but, in comparison with the expense which similar objects in this country cost European governments, it will be found not merely moderate, but trifling. Less than has been effected towards the extension of our limits, I could not attempt: and I am certain that where the direction of every other establishment on the coast, except the Portuguese, would regard itself not only authorized, but *obliged*, to pay away thousands—I have in countless instances, spent not *a dollar*. But that species of economy which sacrifices to itself any object essential to the success of this undertaking, I am as little able to practice as the Board is to approve.

The expenses attending each of our new establishments abroad, from the beginning to this date, are drawn out in separate statements, and inclosed.

#### RELATIONS OF THE COLONY WITH THE KROOMEN.

Our late unhappy differences with the Kroomen, have, since the 30th of June last, been amicably, and I believe definitively settled. The documents relating to the whole of this unfortunate affair, will be found inclosed.

The blood that has flown on this occasion, has been the cause of greater pain to me than the torrents shed in our hostilities of 1822; because the former, differently from the latter, has left the appearance of a stain on the character of the Colony. It may be necessary to explain the grounds on which the present of 100 bars, stipulated to be given to the Kroo nation, in the arrangement of June 30th was made. It certainly was given under such circumstances as to preclude the suspicion of its being extorted by the dread of their power.



The Kroomen, as watermen, pilots, and labourers to all vessels and establishments on the coast, are invaluable serviceable. They have preserved many vessels in distress, from destruction; and saved, by performing their drudgery, the lives of many thousands of seamen. The service rendered to the Colony, by this race of men in loading and discharging vessels, in rescuing the property, and saving the lives of settlers, exposed by accidents attending the passage of the bar, and in various other emergencies, is inestimable, and but poorly acknowledged in the wages customarily allowed them. On all these grounds, I thought it a matter not only of the soundest expediency, but in part, of justice, to secure their good will, and fidelity in future, by the grant referred to, in the final adjustment of our differences.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the Board, that, in this country, the *accepting* of a present is always considered as an acknowledgment of *obligation*, and often of inferiority: and conversely, the *giving* of a present, is often regarded as an assertion of the prerogatives of a superior. It is from the light in which a transaction of this nature is known to be regarded in most parts of this continent, that the commercial states of Europe have given into the usage of paying a stipulated annuity to the Barbary powers, as the condition of their friendship, without being sensible of submitting to an indignity. But, in apologizing for a discussion somewhat too dry and protracted, of the expediency of giving presents to the natives of this country, I beg leave, only to add, that the Colony is on the very best terms at present, with the Kroo people. Several are employed in navigating the boats of the Colony, and the recollection of past disagreements is apparently buried.

#### THE RELATIONS OF THE COLONY WITH THE NEIGHBOURING TRIBES.

The first effects of the Colony in civilizing and improving the condition of the natives of Africa, are beginning to be realized.

The policy which I have invariably pursued in all the intercourse of the Colony with them, is that of benevolence, humanity and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them in the spirit of the parent institution, that one end of our settlement in their country, is to *do them good*. We have adopted 60 of their chil-

dren ; and brought them forward as children of the Colony—and shown a tender concern for their happiness and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct, a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man, has been presented to them. They have, for the first time, witnessed the effects of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time, appear to be apprised of the fact, that among civilized people, there is a good, as well as a bad class. They have learnt, from this Colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality,—their accountability to the God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits at last, the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learnt, and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded—it is increasing—it is more extensive than I dare, at this early period, risk my character for veracity, by asserting. But I beg leave to refer at least, to facts already communicated—to our military expeditions, into the heart of their country, uninterrupted,—to our purchase of the St. Paul's—admission into Grand Bassa, and acquisition of the Sesters. On several occasions of alarm from the interior, the whole population of the country has been ready to throw itself into our arms for protection. No man of the least consideration in the country, will desist from his importunities, till at least one of his sons is fixed in some settlers' family. Thieves and other malefactors have, in too many instances to be recited, been voluntarily arrested by their own countrymen, and delivered up to the Colony for punishment. We have their confidence, and their friendship—and those built on the fullest conviction that we are incapable of betraying the one, or violating the other.

One of the most obvious effects of this Colony, has already been to check, in this part of Africa, the prevalence of the slave-trade. The promptness and severity with which our arms have, in every instance, avenged the insults and injuries offered by slave ships and factories to the Colony, have, I may confidently say, banished it forever from this district of the coast. Between Cape Mount and Trade Town, comprehending a line of 140 miles, not a slaver dares to attempt his guilty traffic. Our influence with the natives

of this section of the coast is known to be so great as to expose to certain miscarriage, any transaction entered into with them, for slaves. But there is a moral feeling at work in the minds of most of our neighbours, contracted doubtless, by means of their intercourse with the Colony, which represents to them the dark business in a new aspect of repulsiveness and absurdity. Most are convinced that it is indeed a *bad business*,—and are apparently sincere in their determination to drop it forever, unless compelled by their wants to adventure a few occasional speculations. To expect from them an operative feeling of the *immorality* of this trade, would be as unreasonable as to expect from a deaf man, a learned discourse on the philosophy of concords. Of the moral virtues, the circle of their ideas does not admit any of the original principles. But, minds as ignorant as theirs, cannot be unaffected to see foreigners more concerned for the welfare of Africans, than Africans for each other. Perhaps, it is yet to be seen, that the most barbarous of practices may be effectually undermined, by an influence as silent and unpretending as the persuasive power of Christian example.

To the lasting honor of the American Colonization Society, it has founded a new empire on this continent, of which the basis is Christianity, intelligence, and rational liberty ;—has conducted it happily through the perilous stages of its inception and early growth ;—has seen its members, in the full possession of the means of acquiring the comforts of life, and sustaining against any anticipated opposition, the stand to which they are advanced. The Society has demonstrated experimentally to the world, the soundness of the views with which they appeared before it in 1817—18, without funds, patronage, or a precedent in the annals of the human race. And in having achieved so much, it has, in my opinion, compassed the special design of its institution ; and must from this period, resign up the great work of colonization, considered as an object of national benefit, to the national patronage.

Respectfully, gentlemen, I have the honor  
to remain, with the most perfect esteem,

Your ob'dt serv't,

J. ASHMUN.

THE MANAGERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, are now, through the good Providence of God, justified in addressing the public, not with the diffidence of mere experimentalists, but with the confidence of successful labourers, in a cause unspeakably interesting to our own country, and fraught with imperishable blessings for another. They announce with satisfaction, equalled only by their gratitude, that the Colony at Liberia exhibits an importance and promise exceeding the predictions of its most enthusiastic friends; that it opens before every freeman of colour a field for honourable enterprise, for political privileges, and for social enjoyments; that it offers to the American statesman the only method, perhaps, of securing permanent prosperity to our country; and to the christian, of imparting to the population of Africa his perfect and sublime religion. Impelled by a deep sense of duty, and animated by the encouragement of Heaven, the Board beg leave to invite their countrymen, universally, to the energetic prosecution of this magnanimous work. It merits, they believe, the approbation of all, and demands the patronage of the nation. Such is now the extent of the operations of this Society, and such the magnitude of its interests, that the same annual amount of funds heretofore received, will in future prove inadequate to the management of the one, or the security of the other. But as the practicableness of its plans has been demonstrated, as their utility appears certain, as their necessity is daily becoming more imperious, the Board trust that hesitation will yield to confidence, and languid approvers come forth to aid the cause with resolute purposes and generous hearts. Nor can the Managers doubt that when age shall contribute its counsel, and youth its vigour; when female benevolence shall be excited, and the impressive devotions and eloquence of the ministry be enlisted for its success, an illustrious triumph will attend this cause—a triumph, honourable to our citizens, felicitous to Africa, and glorious to God. To accomplish such a union of sentiment and action, the Board appeal to the churches in the United States, and most respectfully, yet earnestly, invite their co-operation. May they be allowed to suggest to the ministers and rulers of these churches, that no possible measure occurs to them, as more desirable, than a religious celebration of the anniversary of our Independence, when the views and hopes of this Institution might most appropriately be displayed before the American people, and their donations solicited to give them fulfilment. Should celebrations of a different character prevent, in many places, such a religious service, it might be performed perhaps, with no less advantage, on the Sunday immediately preceding or succeeding that day. From the charities of this occasion was a large proportion of the funds of the Society derived the last year, though the whole amount was inconsiderable, compared with that which cannot fail to be realized by the unanimous adoption of the measure. *The Board appeal with confidence to the Rev. Clergy. The several Ecclesiastical Bodies will, they hope, make this plan their own, and send it forth to the churches under the seal of their unqualified approbation.*

By order of the Board,

R. R. GURLEY, *Resident Agent.*

~~Our~~ Editors friendly to the objects of the American Colonization Society, are very respectfully invited to insert the above in their papers.

P. S. For the sake of presenting to our subscribers Mr. Ashmun's most able and interesting letter, we postpone many communications of much importance, which, with other statements from the pen of the Colonial Agent, may be expected next month.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

JUNE, 1826.

[NO. IV.]

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REVIEW OF THE  
**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 71.)

“GRANVILLE SHARP had now attained his forty-first year.” He stood illustrious before his nation and the world as the masterly expounder of the first principles of natural and English law, the persevering and disinterested defender of human rights. He had connected himself too closely with the circumstances of his age, to allow of his retirement from public observation; and the resignation of his office, only multiplied his opportunities and motives for humane and philanthropic exertion. His acquaintance with Dr. Franklin has been mentioned. His correspondence with Gen. Oglethorpe, now deserves our attention.

The durability and value of fame; are something more than its splendour. . Immortal renown is the legitimate inheritance of virtue. The erratic star glares upon us with evanescent light, the regular sun shines purely, majestically, but gloriously forever. Lawless ambition may astonish, and its terrible exploits be deeply engraven on the memory of mankind, but noble achievements grow brighter by age, are cherished in the heart's best affec-

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tions, and gather around them fresh honours by stimulating to actions which elevate the character and augment the happiness of our race. Examples of vice may be remembered as warnings in the days of our imperfection, but they are recollected of necessity, their oblivion is inevitable under the reign of virtue, while deeds of eminent benevolence will gain in celebrity, as men grow in wisdom, and be more delightfully recollected, as their utility becomes more manifest in the improvement of the world.

The character of general Oglethorpe is, if we mistake not, one which requires only to be understood to be admired. To his fame, as well as to that of Granville Sharp, time will give brightness. He was born in the county of Surry, England, in 1698, and educated for the army under the patronage of the dukes of Argyle and Marlborough. In 1737, he was appointed colonel of a regiment, with the rank of general and commander in chief over all his majesty's forces in Georgia and South Carolina. He is said to have commanded the first regular force ever stationed in America. In 1745, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier general, and in 1747, to that of major general in the British Army. About this time he was elected member of parliament, and here proposed and promoted many measures of great humanity and public benefit. Moved with compassion for the prisoners "confined in gaols for debt," he expressed his opinion that their transfer to some of the American colonies, might prove beneficial to themselves and the nation. In 1732, he was appointed governor of Georgia, and during the ten succeeding years, crossed the ocean six times, without fee or reward, to promote the settlement and interests of that province. *Every possible exertion was made by him to prevent the introduction of Slavery into the Colony.*

"At the commencement of the American revolution, Gen. Oglethorpe being the senior officer of Sir William Howe, had the prior offer of the command of the forces to subdue the Colonies." His integrity on this occasion was remarkable. "He agreed to accept the appointment, on condition the ministry would authorize him to *assure the Colonies that justice would be done to them.*" He declared that *"he knew the people of America well; that they never would be subdued by arms, but their obedience would ever be secured by doing them justice."* A man of such principles was but ill prepared to prosecute the designs of the British govern-

ment, and he was, therefore, agreeably to his request, permitted to remain at home.

Gen. Oglethorpe passed his last days at Grantham hall, Essex, where he died in 1785, in the eighty-seventh year of his age.

“His moderation and the simplicity of his whole deportment, his prudence, virtue, delight in doing good, real regard to merit, unaffected sincerity in all his actions, great knowledge and experience, generous care and concern for his fellow creatures, his mercy and benevolence, will admit of but few parallels in the history of human life.

“More can be said of general Oglethorpe, than of the subject of any other prince in Europe: he founded the province of Georgia in America; he lived to see it flourish and become of consequence to the commerce of Great Britain; he saw it in a state of resistance, and at length independent of the mother country; and of great political importance in one quarter of the globe.” *Vide McCull's history of Georgia.*

Such was the individual with whom Granville Sharp now commenced a correspondence. We give the following extract from Gen. Oglethorpe's first letter.

TO GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.

“SIR,

“Being at Woolston Hall, Dr. Scott's house, he showed me your “law of Retribution.” I was greatly rejoiced to find, that so laborious and learned a man, had appeared a champion for the rights of mankind, against avarice, extortion and inhumanity; that you had with an heroic courage, dared to press home on an infidel luxurious world the dreadful threats of the prophets.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,  
JAMES OGLETHORPE.”

To this letter Granville Sharp made the following reply :

“WICKEN PARK,  
27th September, 1776.

“SIR,

“Though my poor attempts to warn the public of approaching evils, should prove too weak to effect such a timely reformation as may be necessary to avert the judgments against national injustice and inhumanity, yet it is no small recompence and satisfaction for my labour, (next to the sense of having thereby discharged my duty to my country) to find that my endeavours are approved by sincere lovers of justice, whose influence and example, in promoting the public good, at every opportunity, I am sure will not be wanting.

Three other tracts were intended to precede that which you have mention-

ed, on the law of Retribution, although the superier diligence of the printer who undertook it, caused it to be the first distributed amongst my friends—Of these\* and also of some former tracts, I request your acceptance, as a small token of my sincere esteem for a gentleman who professes, (though otherwise unknown to me) so great a regard for justice, humanity and national reformation. If you should find any thing in those several tracts (respecting the dignity of human nature, and the natural rights of mankind) which seems to want further confirmation or explanation, I must request you to suspend your judgment, till you receive two which are now in the press—viz: one on the *Law of nature and principles of action* in men; and the other on the *case of Saul*. These contain the principal grounds and foundation of human rights, (asserted in the former works) and will demonstrate, I trust, beyond all possibility of reply, the extreme danger of infringing them, by pointing out the dangerous state of probation in which every man is placed in this life, and the absolute necessity that is laid upon us all (on account of man's hereditary knowledge of good and evil) to maintain God's eternal laws of *justice* and *mutual benevolence*.

With great esteem," &c.

Extracts from two other letters from this correspondence, merit, we think, insertion in our work, as the former contains some valuable anecdotes of a distinguished man with whom the public are too little acquainted, and the latter beautifully exhibits the ingenuousness and humility of the subject of these memoirs.

GENERAL OGLETHORPE TO GRANVILLE SHARP.

"CRANHAM HALL,

October 13, 1776.

"SIR,

"With great pleasure I receive the favor of yours of the 27th September, and since, several excellent tracts of your composing, which I have read with much satisfaction, as they all point to the great end of life—the honour of God and love of our neighbour.

As I have not the happiness of being known to you, it is necessary to tell you that I am the person you will find mentioned in Harris' collections (the last edition in two vol.) and Smollett's in Rolt. and all the histories of that time.

My friends and I, settled the Colony of Georgia, and by charter were established to make laws, &c. *We determined not to suffer Slavery there*; but the Slave merchants, and their adherents, occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favor them. *We would not suffer Slavery to be authorized under our authority*: The goverment, finding the

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\* The just limitation of Slavery by the laws of God—2. The law of passive obedience—3. The law of liberty.



trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they thought unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent.\*

\* It is an interesting fact, that the most worthy and industrious settlers in Georgia, were entirely opposed to the introduction of slavery into the Colony. The indulgences granted to the Carolinians, increased the discontent of those "who having been not only useless members, but burthensome to society at home, determined to be equally so abroad, and as they generally, had nothing to lose, they were resolved obstinately to persist in their demands, until their wishes were satisfied or the Colony ruined. Their idleness and dissipation prevailed to such a formidable degree, that the people were on the verge of starvation. The object of the trustees was to compel them to labor, and their object was to live without labour." The trustees required nothing from the people, but what they had bound themselves by covenant to perform. "The Germans and Highlanders, having been brought up in habits of industry, yielded to a fulfilment of their contracts for the public good, and under a full confidence that the trustees would in due time extend to them such privileges as would eventually lead to their interest and happiness."

From the petitions of the Highlanders, we give the following extract :

*To his Excellency James Oglethorpe.*

We are informed that our neighbors of Savannah, have petitioned your Excellency for the liberty of having slaves : We hope and earnestly intreat that before such proposals are hearkened to, your Excellency will consider our situation, and of what dangerous and bad consequences, such liberty would be to us for many reasons.

*First,* The nearness of the Spaniards, who have proclaimed freedom to all slaves, who run away from their masters, makes it impossible for us to keep them without more labor in watching, than we would be at to do their work.

*Second,* We are laborious, and know a white man may be, by a year more usefully employed than a negro.

*Third,* We are not rich, and becoming debtors for slaves, in case of their running away, or dying, would inevitably ruin the poor master and he become a greater slave to the negro merchant, than the slave he bought could be to him.

*Fourth,* It would oblige us to keep a guard of duty at least as severe as when we expected a daily invasion ; and if that were the case how miserable would it be for us and our wives and children, an enemy without, and a more dangerous one in our bosom.

The *fifth* objection stated, was the *moral wrong* of the proposed measure.

*From the memorial of the Germans we give the following extract.*

"Though it is here a hotter climate than our native country is, yet not so extremely hot as we were told on the first time of our arrival ; but since we have now been used to the country, we find it tolerable, and for working people convenient, setting themselves to work early in the morning, till ten o'clock, and in the afternoon, from three to sunset ; and having business at

As you will find me in the history of those times, you will find me also in the present list of the army; and when you come to town, I shall be very glad to see you in Grosvenor street, where I live in London, as I do *here* in the country.

You mention an argument urged by Hume, that the *Africans were incapable of liberty*, and that no man capable of government was ever produced by Africa. What a historian! He must never have heard of Shishak, the great Sesostris, of Hannibal, or of Tir haka, king of Ethiopia, whose very name frightened the mighty Assyrian monarch, (2 Kings, XIX. 9.) Is it possible, he never should have seen Herodotus, where the mighty works of the Pyramids, remaining to this day, are mentioned; and in ΘΑΛΕΙΑ the answer of the king of Ethiopia to Cambyses. In Leo, the African's geographical description of Africa, he would have found, that Africa had produced races of heroes."

#### MR. SHARP'S REPLY.

*"To his Excellency James Oglethorpe.*

"HONOURED SIR,

"I am not only truly sensible of the honor you have done me in condescending to make yourself known to me, but be assured, sir, that ever since I read the account of the settlers of Georgia in Harris' collection, to which you referred me, I have entertained a much greater esteem for you, than I can find words to express.

The noble principles on which that undertaking was at first set on foot, and your own truly disinterested and prudent conduct in establishing, as well as your brave and successful behaviour in defending it, form altogether a most instructive and exemplary piece of history for the imitation of the present and future ages; and as example and practice, are infinitely superior to theory and precepts, you certainly enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction, of having really practised and set forth in a conspicuous active life, those disinterested principles and duties, which, in my humble station, I have only been able to re-

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home, we do it in our huts and houses, in the middle of the day, 'till the greatest heat is over. People in Germany are hindered by frost and snow in the winter, from doing any work in the fields and vineyards; but we have this preference, to do the most and heaviest work at such a time, preparing the ground sufficiently for planting in the spring. We were told by several people, after our arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous, for white people to plant and manufacture rice being a work for negroes, *but having experience to the contrary*, we laugh at such talking, seeing, that several people of us, have had in last harvest, a greater crop than they wanted for their own consumption.

We humble beseech the honorable trustees not to allow it, that any negro might be brought to our place or in our neighbourhood, knowing by experience, that our fields and gardens will always be robbed by them, and white persons be put in danger of life because of them, besides other great inconveniences."—*Vide History of Georgia.*

commend in theory. I shall certainly avail myself of the liberty of waiting upon you, as soon as I know that you are returned to town, and remain, with the greatest esteem and respect,

GRANVILLE SHARP."

This correspondence led to the formation of a friendship between these two eminent promoters of justice and virtue which terminated only with life. Gen. Oglesby was the strenuous defender of the rights of seamen, and now published his "Sailor's Advocate" with an introduction by Mr. Sharp, which passed thro' numerous editions. The latter, had already considered the subject of impressment, and was convinced of its iniquity, because it implied *oppression and respect of persons* and was *malum in se, unjust*. *Cessa regnare, si non vis judicare*, was in his opinion a sound maxim grounded upon another; that liberty is the *soul*, and the laws the *body* of the commonwealth. "Our parliament, said he, can have no more right to make a law to enslave Englishmen, than any individual has to deprive himself of life, because that would amount to the crime of *felo de se* in the state."

In consequence of his generous exertions in behalf of the oppressed, Mr. Sharp was frequently resorted to, by those who found themselves in distress, and without the means of legal defence. During the preparations for war with the American Colonies, measures were adopted for the impressment of seamen, and many were seized under warrants from the admiralty. Some of these invoked the aid of Granville Sharp. With his usual ardour and diligence, he pursued his researches into the laws on this subject, and finally in the case of Millachip, for whom a writ of Habeas Corpus had been obtained, brought the question before Lord Mansfield. The attorney general cited the warrant of the lords of the admiralty to justify impressment. But Lord Mansfield waived the discussion of the question of right, and only declared the return to the writ of Habeas Corpus improper, so that the man was at liberty.\*

\*The minutes of the proceedings, in the case of Millachip, were closed by the following memorandum, "Cause stands over, to give the attorney general time to consider of his argument upon what was thrown out by the Court." On this, Mr. Sharp observes: Is it not manifest, from the repeated declarations of the chief justice, that the *cause itself is thrown out by the Court*, and that the man was *instantly set at liberty*, when the Court declared the return *not sufficient to have him remanded*. The personal rights of this man are sacred and inestimable, and are not to be set up as a butt to exercise sophistry. Be-

It occasioned much regret to Granville Sharp, that the cause was afterwards argued on both sides, in reference to the peculiar exemption of Millachip as a citizen of London, and, therefore, did not allow of the discussion of the great question of the legality or illegality of impressments. While engaged in these benevolent efforts for seamen, Mr. Sharp visited Dr. Johnson, and heard his impressive arguments in opposition to his opinions. "Mr. Sharp's strength (says Mr. Hoare,) did not lie in debate, and he felt, severely, the power of Dr. Johnson's reasoning." An account of this interview is recorded in his manuscript.

"I have been told, that it is the common lot of the poor and laborious part of mankind, to endure hardships and inconveniences; that the pressing and forcing them into service is no injustice, nor illegality, being nothing more than one necessary contingent circumstance of the low condition of life, in which they were bred; and that the *cruelty*, rather rests with persons, who like *metake* notice of the grievances, and render them unhappy, by persuading them that they are so. All this has been urged to me, with such plausible sophistry, and important self sufficiency of the speaker, as if he supposed that the mere sound of words was capable of altering the nature of things; as if there were no distinction between good and evil; but the circumstances of persons or occasions might render it expedient or necessary to practice the one as well as the other. Thus the tyrant's plea of necessity is made to remove all bounds of law, morality, and common right! But woe be to them that call evil good and good evil! Happy would it be for this nation, and the eternal souls of such as mislead it, if the feelings of the seamen, and other laborious poor, had no other stimulation, than the recital of their unhappy case by such poor advocates as myself! Are they not surely of the same blood: have they not the same natural knowledge of good and evil to discern, and the same feelings, to be sensible of injuries, as those who cause their sufferings? It is to prevent and dissuade from acts of violence and injustice, but surely not to aggravate the sense of them, that such circumstances are noticed. Nay, it is charity towards the oppressors, as well as the oppressed, to endeavour to convince them of their error: and how can this be done but by speaking of the oppression. *It is even a crime to be silent on such occasions*; for the scriptures command, open thy mouth; judge righteously and plead the cause of the poor and needy, (Prov. XXXI. 9.) Nay it is the cause of God, who hath declared: For the oppressor of the poor reproacheth his Maker, but he that honoureth him hath mercy on the poor. (Prov. XIV. 31.)"

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sides, it is a maxim in the law, that the cause of liberty is to be favoured before all other causes: *Humana natura in libertatis causa, favorem semper magis quam in aliis causis deprecatur*; and, *Anglica jura in omni causa libertati dant favorem.*—*Fortescue.*

In a letter to a friend, about the same time, he writes—

"But we see, says an advocate for power, that it (impressment) *does not discourage*; men are still bred up to a sea faring life, and in times of peace multitudes are allowed by the merchant's service to choose that condition, where by they are subject to the impress. True it is, that the necessities of poor labouring men, compel them to earn their bread in any way that they can get it; and when a war is over, the discouragement of pressing is in a great measure forgot, and the number of seamen of course is again increased. But this makes no difference with respect to the injustice and illegality of the oppression itself; for if the poor man is not protected in an honest calling (which is his estate and most valuable dependence) as well as the rich man in his estate, the law or rather the administrators of it are unjust and partial, having respect of persons, which the law itself abhors, and which religion strictly forbids. And therefore, if we can form any precise definition of iniquity, this partiality of which I complain, comes fairly within the meaning of that term."

The principles of christian virtue are simple, consistent, and comprehensive. On all great moral questions there will be found among those who adopt them in their full extent, unity of sentiment, and in the discharge of social and civil duties, the same practice. Abstract doctrines concerning human rights and obligations are frequently condemned, as inapplicable to the real and various character, circumstances and necessities of mankind; but in truth, without clear and just views of certain moral principles immutable as our nature and important as our destiny, we are entirely unprepared to give judgment concerning any one leading interest of society, or to fulfil one of its responsible duties. The principles upon which reposed the faith of Sharp and Oglethorpe, are the basis of the order and happiness of the world. These men spoke out with prophetic voice, against crime in high places, and by the sad experience of more than one nation, have the truths to which they paid homage, been proved of paramount importance to mankind. Their opinions were concurrent, for they both bowed to the laws of God. What calamities had been prevented, what glory had covered England, had she listened to their admonitions: But her injustice to her seamen has driven them from her shores, and weakened their energy—her sanction of the slave trade produced evils surpassing description—and her unjust war, with her American Colonies, robbed her crown of one of its brightest gems.

*(To be Continued.)*

**A MEMOIR**  
**Of the Exertions and Sufferings of the**  
**American Colonists,**

CONNECTED WITH THE OCCUPATION OF CAPE MONTSERADO,  
EMBRACING THE PARTICULAR HISTORY OF THE  
COLONY OF LIBERIA FROM DECEMBER  
1821 TO 1823.—By *J. Ashmun.*

*Compiled from the Authentic Records of the Colony.*



NOTHING among men is great or small, but relatively. Human pride seldom indeed remembers this axiom in the estimate it forms of the moral worth of virtuous actions. And experience proves that the heart itself too easily obeys the absurd prejudice; withholding the tribute of its sensibilities from the loveliest examples of unobtrusive, solitary merit, and lavishing it with a forced prodigality on such instances as in some way connect with themselves the accidental, not to say doubtful, circumstance of a mere physical magnificence. Separate the pursuits of mankind from the considerations of morality, and their distinctions of great and small, will be seen to be as arbitrary and capricious as the fancies and habits of individuals.

I have seen the well-repressed smile of conscious derision cautiously sporting itself on the composed features of a Senator of one of the small republics of America, while amusing his leisure with the little intrigues of a borough election. I saw something like a reflection of the same playful sentiment radiating from the relaxed brow of a minister of the national council, while attending to a grave argument of the same Senator on a contested point of county jurisdiction. The delegate who figures in an European Congress, might affect to regard as cheap and rude the politics of the entire western world. And the most magnificent political manœuvres of modern times, what are they, if magnitude is made the scale of greatness, in comparison with the profound and awful policy of Rome—beginning in the darkness of a remote antiquity, and holding its even and mighty course over the ruins of thirty gene-

rations, unchanged even by domestic revolutions, until its proud consummation was, under the Cesars, triumphantly developed in the reduction of the world?

The truth is, that the intrinsic grandeur of all human actions consists wholly in their moral character; and it is the share which the virtuous heart takes in those actions, that after all, is the just measure of their greatness. It is this principle of estimation alone, which puts it in the power of the humblest part of mankind to equal in real magnanimity of character, and absolute grandeur of exploit, the achievements, and the moral elevation, of the proudest. It is this scale of distribution, by which the benevolent Father of mankind, divides to all the race, the little stock of their joys and sorrows.—I will add, too, that the first secret of a virtuous mind is folded up in its wisdom to discern, and disposition to applaud, amidst those gilded heaps of splendid trifles which continually solicit the admiration of the world, the genuine traits of moral greatness in their least imposing forms.

It is in the beautiful light of a theory so just, and at the same time so gratifying to the benevolent heart, that many of the readers of the following memoir will delight to contemplate the genuine actings of heroic virtue; of which the theatre was too remote from the observation of the world, and the actors too little practised in the arts of ostentation, to expose their motives to the suspicion of vanity, or admit of the agency of the ordinary stimulants of great achievements.

To arrive at the remote spot on which these humble scenes were transacted, I must tax the reader's imagination with a flight across the Atlantic ocean, which, by limiting the circle of his ordinary avocations, may hitherto have bounded the range of his liveliest sensibilities. I must send it far from the polished and populous districts of European, and Asian refinement—beyond the habitations of civilized man—to the least frequented recess of a coast almost the least frequented on the globe. On this spot, a handful of coloured emigrants from the United States, in whose bosoms the examples of history had never kindled the fire of emulation—whose only philosophy had been acquired from a series of dispiriting conflicts with every form of physical and moral adversity—and whose prospects, at that moment, were as dark and appalling, as the memory of the past was embittered—ejected from the land of their birth.—hostility, famine and destruction menac

cing them in that of their adoption : such is the humble character of the individuals, and equally humble is the scenery and the action, which are to enliven the incidents of this narrative.

The facts are wholly drawn from the authentic records of Liberia ; and doubtless deserve the connected exposition which is intended here to be presented, as forming the only minute history yet published, of the first and most interesting period of that promising Colony. The compiler having enjoyed the humble honour of directing the little phalanx of moral energies so advantageously, and through the sustaining providence of Heaven, so triumphantly displayed, in the trying scenes of 1822, hesitates not to acknowledge that to the performance of this little task, he is equally prompted by a sentiment of grateful pride, and the more exacting obligations of a serious duty. The circumstances, some of them not of the most pleasant nature, which give its principal strength to this latter motive, it is entirely needless farther to advert to ; and to most of his readers, the writer owes an apology even for this slight digression.

The map which accompanies this statement, is wholly constructed from surveys of which the events detailed in it furnished the compiler with the occasion ; and is believed to be quite sufficient to elucidate all the local references.

The territory on which the first settlement of the colonists of Liberia has been made, may be seen to present the form of a narrow tongue, of twelve leagues' extent, detached from the main land, except by a narrow Isthmus, formed by the approach of the head waters of the Montserado and Junk rivers. The northwestern termination of this linear tract of country is cape Montserado, which, towards its extremity, rises to a promontory sufficiently majestic to present a bold distinction from the uniform level of the coast. Towards the south-east it is terminated by the mouth of the Junk river. Centrally, this peninsula is attached to the main land by the Isthmus just designated ; so as to represent the general form of a scale-beam, of which, the point of attachment answers to the pivot,—and measured directly over from the banks of the Junk, or Montserado river, to the ocean, its width in no part exceeds one league ; and in many places is narrowed down to half that distance.

The present town of Monrovia is situated on the inland side of this peninsula, forms the S. W. bank of the river Montserado, about



two miles within the extremity of the cape. The original settlement approached within 150 yards of the water; and occupied the highest part of the spinal ridge, which traverses a large part of the peninsula, and rises at this place to about 75 feet. A dense and lofty forest of timber-trees, entangled with vines and brush-wood, so as to be nearly impracticable by any but the feet of savages, and savage beasts, formed the majestic covering of a large proportion of this tract, when the territory was bargained for by the agents of the American Colonization Society, in December, 1821.

Opposite to the town and near the mouth of the Montserado river, are two small islands, containing together, less than three acres of ground. The largest of these islands is nearly covered with houses built in the native style, and occupied by a family of several hundred domestic slaves, formerly the property of an English factor, but now held, in a state of qualified vassalage, very common in Africa, by a black man to whom the right of the original owner has devolved since his return to Europe. Many of this family, including the old patriarch at their head, are strangers on this part of the coast, have no participation in the politics of their neighbours, and are frequently the objects of their jealousy,—and till restrained by the protection of the American Colony,—of their oppression.

The tribes of the neighbourhood are, 1st, the DEYS; who inhabit the coast from 25 miles to the northward of Montserado, to the mouth of the Junk, about 36 miles to the southeastward. Contiguous to this nation, and next interior, are, 2dly, the QUEAHS, a small and quiet people, whose country lies to the E. of cape Montserado; and, 3dly, the GURRAHS, a much more numerous and toilsome race of men occupying the country to the northward of the upper parts of the St. Paul river. Still further interior is the formidable and warlike nation of the CONDOES, whose name alone is the terror of all their maritime neighbours.

It is proper, in this place, to advert to a small hamlet placed on the beach one mile to the northward of the settlement, belonging to a people entirely distinct in origin, language and character, from all their neighbours. These are the Kroomen, well known by foreigners visiting the coast, as the watermen and pilots of the country. They originate from a populous maritime tribe, whose country is Settra-Kroo, near cape Palmas. The custom of their tribe obliges all, except the old, the princes of the blood, and a few others, to disperse to different parts of the coast, and form them-

selves in small towns near every road-stead and station frequented by trading vessels; where they often remain, unless summoned home to assist on some grand national occasion, from two to six, and even ten years, according to their success in accumulating a little inventory of valuables, with which their pride is satisfied to return to their friends and country. These people are decidedly the most active, enterprising, intelligent and laborious in this part of Africa; and in the size, strength and fine muscular proportions of their persons, have few superiors, as a nation, in the world. The number of families belonging to their settlement near the mouth of the Montserado, scarcely exceeds a dozen, and may comprehend fifty individuals.

The purchase of the Montserado territory was effected in December, of 1821; of which transaction, a particular account was published by the Colonization Society, a few months afterwards. The occupation of the country by as many of the dispersed American Emigrants as could be collected, early in the following year, was also announced by Dr. Ayres, on his return to the United States, the same season; and noticed in the report of the Society, for 1823.

Two small schooners belonging to the Colony were employed in the transportation of the settlers in January, 1822; in which service they continued to be occasionally occupied, until the latter part of the following May. But in this period a variety of unpleasant indications of the hostile temper of the Dey people, fully demonstrating the insincerity of their engagements in relation to the lands, were but too distinctly afforded the settlers.

On the arrival of the first division, consisting chiefly of the single men, the natives positively, and with menaces of violence, forbade their landing. The smallest of the two Islands at the mouth of the Montserado, had been obtained by special purchase, of John S. Mill,\* at that time the occupant and proprietor; on which the people and property were safely debarked, without any actual opposition. But the endeavours of the agent, either by the decision

\* Mr. Mill, an African by birth, and son of an English merchant who owned a large trading concern on the coast, had enjoyed a superior English education; was employed in a respectable capacity in the colony, in 1824, and died of a rapid phthisis pulmonalis, July 20th, 1825. The interest he took in the foundation of the Colony, entitles his memory to the grateful recollection of its friends.

of his tone, or by means of arguments drawn from the justice of his procedure, or prospective advantages to be expected from the settlement, entirely failed to conciliate their friendship, or alter their settled purpose to expel the colonists from their country.

But in that spirit of duplicity which has marked the policy of too many who claim to be their superiors, the Chiefs of the tribe, in a few days, held out an offer of accommodation with the most imposing appearances of sincerity and reason. The ferment seemed in a great measure allayed; and the agent was so far deluded by the stratagem, as to render it in the first instance entirely successful. Yielding to an invitation to meet the country authorities in a friendly conference, at king Peter's town, he imprudently put his person in their power, and found himself a prisoner. Having been detained several days, Dr. Ayres consented, as the condition of his freedom, to re-accept the remnant of the goods which had been advanced the month preceding, in part payment for the lands; but contrived to evade their injunction for the immediate removal of the people from the country, by alleging the want of *vessels* for the purpose.

The individuals at this time on Perseverance Island did not amount to twenty. The island itself being a mere artificial formation, and always becalmed by the high land of the Cape which towers above it in the direction of the ocean, soon proved itself to be a most insalubrious situation. The only shelter it afforded to the people and stores was to be found under the decayed thatch of half a dozen diminutive huts, constructed after the native manner of building; and the Island was entirely destitute of fresh water and firewood. All the settlers had left Sierra Leone in a good state of health. But the badness of the air, the want of properly ventilated houses, and sufficient shelter, with other circumstances of their new situation, soon began to prey upon their strength, and caused several cases of intermittent fever; from a course of which most of the company had been but a very few months recovered.

Happily, a secret, ex-parte arrangement was, at this critical period, settled with king George, who resided on the Cape, and claimed a sort of jurisdiction over the northern district of the peninsula of Montserado; in virtue of which the settlers were permitted to pass across the river, and commence the laborious task of clearing away the heavy forest which covered the site of their in-

tended town.—It may illustrate a trait of the African character, to observe that the consideration which moved this Chief to accord to the settlers a privilege which has manifestly led to their permanent establishment at Montserado, and the translation of the country to new masters, was the compliment of half a dozen gallons of rum, and about an equal amount in African trade-cloth, and tobacco.

Every motive which interest, increasing sufferings, and even the love of life, could supply, at this moment, animated the exertions of this little band. Their Agent had left them to the temporary superintendence of one of their own number,\* under whose counsel and example the preparation of their new habitations advanced so rapidly, as in a very few weeks, to present the rudiments of 22 dwellings, ranged in an orderly manner, on the principal street of their settlement.

But at this interesting period, when hope and success began to re-assert in the brightened sphere of their fortunes a decided ascendant, one of those unforeseen circumstances which so often entirely frustrate the best concerted schemes of human prudence, and warn mankind of the supremacy of a divine Providence, suddenly terminated the pleasing anticipations of the settlers in bitter disappointment, and kindled around them the flame of war.

A small vessel, prize to an English cruiser, bound to Sierra Leone with about 30 liberated Africans, put into the roads for a supply of water, and had the misfortune to part her cable and come ashore, within a short distance of Perseverance Island. In this state she was, in a few hours, beat to fragments by the action of a heavy surf.—The natives pretend to a prescriptive right which interest never fails to enforce in its utmost extent, to seize and appropriate the wrecks and cargoes of vessels stranded under whatever circumstances, on their coast. The English schooner having drifted upon the main land about one mile from the extremity of the Cape, and a small distance below George's town, was immediately claimed as his property. His people rushed to the beach with their arms, to sustain this claim; and attempting to board the wreck, were fired upon by the prize master and compelled to desist. In the mean time the aid of the settlers was sent for; which, from an opinion of the extreme danger of their English visitants,

\*Frederick James, who now holds in the municipal government of the Colony, a situation of the very first respectability.

they immediately afforded. A boat was instantly manned, and despatched to their relief; and a brass field piece stationed on the Island, brought to bear upon the assailants. The latter then hastily retired to their town, which was, like most African hamlets, closely environed by an ancient growth of trees, with the loss of two of their number killed and several disabled. The English officer, his crew and the Africans, were brought off in safety; but suffered the total loss of their vessel, with most of the stores and other property on board of her.

But owing to some very culpable neglect on the part of the persons who served the field piece on this occasion, the fire was communicated from the fusee, to the thatch roof of the store-house containing the provisions, arms, ammunition, merchandise, and other public property of the Colony. The powder, a few casks of provisions, and a scanty supply of other stores, were providentially rescued, through the timely exertions of the people. But property amounting to near three thousand dollars, assorted for the settlement, and all of the first necessity, was consumed!

The country people disappointed of the valuable tempting booty, which, in imagination they had appropriated by anticipation, manifestly, in consequence of the presence and interference of the settlers, became as will be readily supposed, exasperated against them to the highest pitch of hostility. The sight of their dead and wounded countrymen completed the measure of their irritation; and fiercely excited in their minds a savage thirst of vengeance. Nothing but the dread of opposing the great guns of the Islanders could, at this moment, have restrained them from opening upon them volleys of musketry, from the opposite bank of the river; which, had it been continued for any length of time, could scarcely have failed to prove in a high degree destructive. But seldom venturing near enough to give the least precision to their fire, they were always sure, on delivering it, to retire with the utmost precipitation to the deepest part of the forest, before they could collect sufficient assurance to reload their pieces: and a single discharge of a four or six pounder before they had evaded the range of its shot, seldom failed to put an end to their insolence for the remainder of the day.

But in this mockery of ordinary warfare, it is to be observed, that no combination of the tribes—not even an union of the forces of the smallest single tribe of the country; had taken place.

King George's warriors, scarcely numbering 20 men, were the only individuals who had presumed to go to the length of open hostilities. And in this procedure they could justify themselves to the country authorities only on the ground of self-defence. A war, among the tribes of this country, to be legal, must have been resolved upon in a general assembly of their chiefs; unless deliberation and delay are precluded, as in the present case, by an apparent necessity of self protection. Such an assembly not having been at this time convoked, the actual danger to which the settlers were exposed, was wholly confined to the south, or king George's side of the Montserado river. But as the settlers were obliged to derive their whole supply of fresh water from this bank—particularly as the site of the town which they had eagerly designated for their future residence, and made some progress in preparing, occupied the height overlooking their enemy's town—they were subjected to various inconveniences, and obliged entirely to discontinue their principal work. The frames of their unfinished dwellings were thrown down; and several petty insults of a like nature inflicted upon them, which they had no power to prevent. But the wakeful activity of their savage enemy soon caused them to deplore a more melancholy proof of his power to injure them.

A boat, strongly manned and armed, had proceeded to the distance of nearly three miles above the Island, on the morning of the 27th of March, for a supply of water. It was discovered, half an hour afterwards, that King George's warriors had also passed up the river by land, evidently with the intention of attacking the boat's crew. A second boat was then despatched to overtake, and, in case of necessity, support the first. Several of the English seamen, conducted by their officer, had, with their usual promptitude on such occasions, volunteered their attendance. The bank of the Montserado was at that time entirely covered, the whole distance which the boats had to ascend it, with heavy trees; and in several places, is nearly overhung with precipitous rocks of very broken appearance, and enormous size. The boats had proceeded without any discovery of their enemy to the watering-place—filled their casks and put off from the shore on their return, when the firing commenced. The boats had just entered the upper end of the narrow reach formed by the south line of Bank Island and the main land. As nothing could have been effected by a show of resistance against a concealed enemy, the boats could do little

more than hold the opposite shore as closely as possible, and make the best of their way down the river. The fire was renewed, at all the different angles and projections of the bank which allowed the foe to approach under cover of the rocks and trees, sufficiently near the boat channel of the river. It is to be presumed they suffered nothing in this unequal skirmish; while on board of the boats one colonist\* and an English seaman, were mortally wounded—and two other persons slightly injured.

These occurrences could not fail to diffuse a spirit of fervid excitement throughout the Dey tribe. The fatal consequences likely to follow the admission into their country of civilized strangers—strangers whom they had learnt to be entirely adverse to the slave-trade—formed the topic of violent and exaggerated declamation, by nearly all whose interest, fears, or prejudices were concerned in their expulsion. Old King Peter, the venerable patriarch of the nation, was capitally impeached and brought to trial on a charge of betraying the interests of his subjects by selling their country. The accusation was substantiated; and it was for some time doubtful whether the punishment annexed by the laws and usages of all nations, to high treason, would not be carried into execution against a king to whom they had been accustomed to render obedience for more than thirty years.

*(To be Continued.)*

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## Extracts from Correspondents.

We rejoice to believe that truth is assuming in this age, an extraordinary dominion over the human mind. Unprecedented success appears to attend its promulgation, and the Almighty himself makes it most signally the instrument of his operations. All the events of the day seem to contribute to that revolution in opinions which is to elevate CHRISTIANITY to the throne of the world. Her triumph is as certain as the march of time. She will change not individual character only, but political institutions, nor reign more in private circles, than in the affairs of empires. She will tame

\* Wiley Jones, from Petersburg, Va. who expired on the 18th of April

the lion, and make the wilderness a garden of beauty. Her glance shall be death to injustice, her smile hope to the injured and life to the dead; the solitary place shall be glad at her coming, the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose. All nations shall follow in her train: ransomed Ethiopia shall appear there, not rude in manners and dark in soul, but clad in righteousness, lofty in her purposes of duty, and joyful with immortal hopes—of all the kingdoms of the world shall it be said “wisdom and knowledge are the stability of their times and strength of salvation.”

To those who feel an interest in the plans of our institution, the intelligence not only from Africa but from various parts of our own country, must afford high gratification. It proves that a spirit of compassion has gone abroad for the children of that continent, with an energy not to be impeded and not to be broken. We select the following passages from letters of recent date:—

*From a Gentleman in Missouri, St. Louis. Feb. 18th, 1826.*

“Enclosed you have the constitution of the St. Louis Auxiliary Colonization Society, which I transmit to you by order of the Board of Managers, together with the names of its present officers. This auxiliary was organized about a year since; but owing to the dearth of information in regard to the general Society, its objects, efforts and success, very little exertion has been made. I am persuaded, however, that all that is necessary to produce a proper degree of attention to this important subject in this part of the country, is *information*. People must be made acquainted with the Colonization Society, the history of its exertions, the results already experienced, and the more distant consequences of its operations as regards our country and the blacks, so unfortunately situated amongst us, before they will contribute, from their heart and from their purse, to its advancement. Its grandeur, and the extent of its philanthropy, can be seen only through a distant perspective.

This Society (the St. Louis Auxiliary) will endeavor to circulate throughout this section of the country, such information as will be proper and useful as to the objects and operations of the Colonization Society; and will make such remittances from time to time as circumstances permit.”



*From a Gentleman in King William County, Virginia.*

*April 1st, 1826.*

“In conclusion I would say, that my attachment to the cause of the Colonization Society remains not only undiminished, but is increased by every review of the important objects proposed to be attained through its instrumentality. My circumstances in life, however, and the avocations in which I am engaged, forbid my devoting as much time to the important concerns of this Society, as I could wish. With the assistance of God, I am determined to spend my whole life in endeavouring in some way or other to promote the objects of this most benevolent institution. I recognise in it the glorious attempt, on the part of the present generation, to wipe from the face of our political institutions one of its foulest stains, and to acquit ourselves of the charge of suffering one of the greatest evils under which we labour, to remain without an effort on our part to get clear of it, an evil of high moral turpitude, which paralyzes the physical energies of our country, and will continue to do it in an increased degree.”

*From a Gentleman in Petersburg, Va. April 22, 1826.*

“The friends of Africa are increasing in this region—public opinion is more and more awake to the subject. Time is only wanting to give birth to the great events yet in embryo. Your cause is the cause of God. Heaven will be propitious to your plans and operations. You shall accomplish even more than your most sanguine anticipations will allow you to conceive.”

*From a Gentleman in Vermont. April 29, 1826.*

“The sailing of the Vine was an excellent thing for your cause in New-England. If those who went in her should do well for themselves and the Colony, more might be fitted out here with very little expense to you. I know some farmers in Vermont, who were really *anxious* to send some supplies to Boston for the Vine and the Colony, but could find no opportunity.”

*From a Gentleman in Massachusetts. April 19, 1826.*

“The late, and more frequent emancipations in the middle and southern states, is producing a very happy influence on the public mind, generally in this part of the country. They give a spring to

public sentiment, and they teach this great lesson, which we northerners are beginning to understand—that many slave holders retain their slaves in bondage—not because they love slavery; but because they cannot better the condition of their slaves by emancipating them. The flourishing state of your Colony at Liberia, affords to such, an opportunity to perform an act, which they have long desired, and to put their servants, them and their posterity, on a new footing for immortality. The south and the north, I am fully persuaded, after having recently travelled thro' nearly all the states of this happy Union, are approaching every day towards the same views in reference to this whole subject of our African population, both the bond and the free. And I cannot but look on your Society, not only as affording a retreat on the coast of Africa, for a few thousands of free blacks and liberated slaves; but as an instrument of a much nobler achievement. The influence of your Society on public *sentiment*, is the *main thing*, and though in transporting colonists to Liberia, it must, in my opinion, be small in comparison with even the annual increase of the black population; yet even here you do not lose what you actually do, by being unable to do more. If, therefore, any friend of the Society does not see all that *direct* and immediate good he had anticipated as resulting from his efforts, he may still have the consolation of believing, that his efforts have been greatly useful, and, it may be, that he does a much greater good than he himself had ever dared to hope.”

*From a Member of the Society of Friends in North Carolina.*

May 14, 1826.

“If I had leisure, I could write a pretty full account of my tour through the eastern counties of this state. ——— and myself set out to visit the people of colour under the care of the Society of Friends, and to convince them of the falsity and absurdity of those alarming tales with which their ignorant minds were filled. We found many in the full opinion that Sampson (the visiter from Liberia) had actually sold those that sailed in the Indian Chief, and they gave in detail the circumstances and manner of the sale. We, however, believe that about 200 would sail for Liberia in the fall, but our funds are too limited to move so fast. We found a hundred who wish to go to Hayti, and have agreed upon a passage for them. We have sent upwards of one hundred

to the west this spring, but are in hopes they will ultimately go down the Mississippi and cross the ocean, especially if the general government undertakes the business of colonizing, which I have long wished, and which seems to be desired by all. I repeat it, BY ALL; and I have talk'd with hundreds on the subject.

A law for hiring out free persons of colour, came near being passed during the last session of our legislature, and apprehending that it will pass the next, we are in a grievous situation. Our negroes would go if we had the means to send them. Unfortunately they are mostly women and children, some men and boys having heretofore gone to free States, so that our women have slave husbands—some wish their wives to go and some will be given up. We have been careful to act discreetly in these cases to the best of our knowledge.”

*From a Gentleman in Virginia. May 20, 1826.*

“I think that our Society is gaining ground all over the United States—you saw last winter that our general assembly is not unfriendly to our institution. I had conversation at that time with many members of the legislature, and found very few unfriendly to the Society. It is only some apprehension concerning *State rights* which has ever rendered the Colonization Society unpopular in any part of Virginia. I can say that all the enlightened and benevolent-hearted men who have come within the compass of my observation, are friendly to the Society; the pious are for us to a man—the ministers of all religious denominations are warmly engaged in the cause. I hope the managers have requested the clergy throughout the United States, to preach and take up subscriptions on the fourth of July.”

*From a Gentleman in Vermont. May 16, 1826.*

“I am now happy to inform you, that professor Adams writes, that he has 620 volumes ready for Liberia, more than 500 of which, are given by the students of Dartmouth college. I am just now sending to most of the other New-England colleges for books.

The death of our dear Sessions, is a distressing event. But in all such calamities the good hand of God is concerned, and all will be overruled for good. Black men must be prepared as soon as possible, for all public as well as private services. I hope we

shall live to see an African college in Liberia, and its presidential chair filled by an African, born to rule and teach."

*From a Gentleman in Maryland. May 22, 1826.*

"Our 'great and holy cause', as you justly observe, is decidedly making progress. It wins its way alike through the reason and the heart. The speculative and the practical, the religious and the philosophical, all find it congenial to their tempers and pursuits. When we look back upon its rapid growth, we have no right to complain of the present, nor to despair of the future. To my personal knowledge the ideas of gradual emancipation, and removal and colonization in Africa, are daily gaining ground throughout all orders of society in this place, especially among the youthful.—They are spreading *silently* to be sure; but the more effectually for that; for this proves the depth of the feeling and the permanence of conviction. Every great change has been effected, and every noble enterprize accomplished in that manner. Before a distant day the scheme will burst forth in its strength, like the ice of our rivers breaking up in the spring."

*From a Gentleman in Connecticut. April, 1826.*

"The appearance of the Repository is greatly improved; and I regard that as a proof that it supports itself. The work must be interesting to all who read it. Your cause generally seems to be gaining ground rapidly."

*From a Lady in Hartford, Connecticut. April, 1826.*

"The idea of educating a young man of colour as a physician for the Colony, has been suggested to some who are interested in the plans of the Colonization Society, in this place. A young physician here of excellent character and who is in good practice, has offered to instruct a young man, and furnish him with the requisite books. He can be boarded in my family and clothed by "a Society for benefiting Africans" in my school.

A suitable individual has been selected from Boston. He is about 17, and it is believed, that with his present acquirements, he may obtain the necessary knowledge of botany, chemistry, medicine and surgery, in the course of four or five years."

**From Liberia.**

By the Indian Chief, which arrived at Norfolk on the 29th of May, we have received communications from the African Colony, up to the 23d of April. The general interests of the establishment appear to be making sure advances, and the degree and sphere of its influence over the native tribes, is becoming greatly enlarged. In consequence of piractical depredations committed by certain French and Spanish slave-traders, in the neighbourhood of the Colony, it was deemed necessary by the Colonial Agent, to vindicate the rights of the settlement, and by the destruction of four slave factories, has he rescued from captivity, one hundred and fifty-four persons, "and as it is believed" terminated the slave-trade forever on that part of the coast. In the several enterprizes undertaken for the accomplishment of these purposes, the Colonial militia evinced great promptness, and the determination and ability of the Colonial Agent, were eminently conspicuous.

The line of coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount, is now under British protection; and from Cape Mount to Trade Town, a distance of 120 miles, the slave-trade cannot be prosecuted with the least hope of success. Many of the tribes are really disposed to abandon it, and all perceive the hazard with which in future it must be attended.

But it becomes the duty of the Board to acknowledge the chastisements as well as the mercies of Heaven. The emigrants from New-England, have suffered severely from the change of climate, and in the deaths of the Rev. Horace Sessions, and Mr. Charles L. Force, the African cause has lost two of its faithful and devoted friends. The exertions of the former gentleman, contributed in a great measure to the outfit of the New-England expedition, and his return was anticipated with high hopes of good for the Institution to which he had so zealously and successfully devoted his efforts; while the labours of the latter were believed to promise much to the literary and moral interests of the Colony. But the Almighty has thought proper to remove them, and to his will we must submissively bow. His designs are too deep for our understandings, and his providences too dark for the examination of mortals. His favours demand our gratitude, and his judgments our resignation. The revelations of a future day will show the wisdom and benevolence of both.

The Rev. Calvin Holton, had so far recovered from his attack of fever as to engage in his ministerial duties.

In conclusion, we take the liberty to state, that the Colony at Liberia, considering its age, means, and population, enjoys a degree of prosperity, of which perhaps no similar establishment furnishes an example in the history of the world.

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### **A few Words to the Churches.**

We are aware, christian friends, that a story often loses interest by repetition; that an advocate even of the best cause may be indiscreetly warm in its favour, and that he who would convince the doubtful or arouse the insensible, must temper ardour of feeling with sobriety of judgment. But there is an aversion in our nature to certain great principles of duty, which can be conquered only by frequently exhibiting their authority to the intellect and conscience. There is an indifference to the claims, and the sufferings of others, which, though not to be removed by a transient thought, may yield to considerate attention. The execution of the design of the American Colonization Society, depends we know, upon popular opinion, and can never be realized until a deep conviction of its importance, and a resolute purpose to assist it, shall prevail in the public mind. Nor is this a subject to be thoroughly understood and justly appreciated without deliberate reflection. It must be again and again held up before the eyes of the community. It must be shown in all its aspects of interest. It must be unfolded in all its momentous relations to the welfare, both of this country and Africa. It is not upon the strength of our Institution that we rely for the consummation of this work, but upon the power of the Nation, and from what but popular sentiment is this power to receive impulse and direction. Through the churches may this cause be most appropriately and extensively offered to the consideration of the American people. And permit us to say, ministers and members of these churches, are you not now called to the discharge of a high and solemn duty to your country, the Africans and to God? In a few days you will commemorate the anniversary of our national independence. O! amid the joyous remembrances of that jubilee, when you think of your own deliver-

ance and defence by the EVERLASTING ARM, how our nation even in its infancy reposes upon an eminence above all nations; how there opens before her a wide and brightning prospect of knowledge, religion and glory, is it not becoming that you lay your offerings at the feet of him who is the Donor of all our blessings, that for his sake, you evince kindness to the ignorant for whom He feels compassion; that you thus show your fellowship with Him upon whom dwelt the spirit of the Lord, that he might preach glad tidings to the poor, bind up the broken hearted, proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound. Will not our oblations prove vain and our incense an abomination, unless we remember the stranger within our gates and satisfy the afflicted soul? We plead for degraded and miserable men within our own territory, for uncounted wretched tribes claiming redress from christians for injuries without parallel, for the interests and honor of our country, for the reputation and influence of the kingdom of Christ. What inestimable good might result from the concurrence of all denominations of christians in the proposed plan for *taking up collections for our institution on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding that day?*

The consciousness of having done a work so noble, would be a rich reward; while we might with reason expect that Heaven would render it the ministration of prosperity to our own country, of hope and salvation to Africa.

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## Intelligence.

*France.*—In the French Chamber of Deputies, March 25th, petitions were presented from Paris, and from Havre, for a more effectual prohibition of the slave trade. A member stated that more than 50 vessels have been fitted out for this trade from Nantz within a year; and that French slave vessels, when pursued, threw their slaves overboard!

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Mr. Secretary Canning, in a late debate in the House of Commons, took occasion to compliment the French Government, on the disposition it had lately manifested to put down the slave trade, and said he had the satisfaction to inform the house, that

“an order had been sent by the Spanish Government to Cuba which (should it be executed) would effectually put down the slave trade in that quarter.”

*Instruction of Slaves.*—Societies have been formed in several of the West India islands for the religious instruction of the blacks, with the countenance of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The report of the Society in the island of Nevis, made on the 13th of August last, states that a Sunday school had been established in each of the four county parishes, wherein 682 slaves and 24 free persons were receiving instruction, and that a Sunday and daily school had been established at Charlestown, in the former of which 80 slaves were taught, and in the latter there were 105 free and slave pupils. A master was employed in each of these schools, and in the town school there was also a mistress. The salaries paid were from 20*l.* to 25*l.* each.—*Phil. Reg.*

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## Liberia Herald.

We have perused, with no slight emotion, a copy of the “*Liberia Herald*,” which was noticed in an article in our last. A newspaper from Africa ! An Americo-African newspaper ! We confess that we never examined any other newspaper with as much interest as we did this little sheet. It realized to us, more than any thing else could do, at so great a distance, the growth, the stability, and the prospects, of the African Colony; and we can imagine the pleasure which all the friends of that great and beneficent scheme must feel at this interesting evidence of the progressive success of their unwavering efforts. Let them but persevere, and final and complete success will crown their exertions. Public opinion will become universal in its favour, and public opinion thus united, will give an impulse to the public counsels favorable to the Colony.

In looking over the Monrovia paper, it was interesting to observe the various notices of business, parades, marriages, &c. as though the print was issued in the midst of an old community. For the amusement of our readers, we subjoin the following notices, copied from the first number of the paper :

“Organized, on the 15th instant, the second Trading Company of Liberia, on the basis of uniform prices and equitable trade, both with the different



tribes and with foreign nations. Any traffic in human blood or spirituous liquors with the natives, is a violation of the Constitution, and incurs heavy penalties."

"*Attention!*—The Independent Volunteers will parade on the 22d inst. at 9 o'clock, A. M. equipped according to law, with ten blank cartridges, in honor of the birth of Washington, the American hero.

By order of the Captain,

JAMES C. BARBOUR.

WM. W. STEWART, Orderly Sergeant."

"*Wanted immediately.*—The following articles, viz. boards, plank, shingles, window glass, nails, crockery, all kinds of hardware, household furniture, cutlery, tobacco, pipes, pound beads, American cottons, gingham, calicoes, shoes, hose, cambrics, muslins, linens, buttons, thread, combs, butter, lard, and hams. In exchange for which, may be had—camwood, ivory, turtle shell, gold dust, deer, leopard, and tiger skins; rice, fowl, fish; goats, sheep, and fruits."

"*Married*, on the evening of the 14th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Sessions, Mr. Richard Sears, to Miss Rosanna Mason Fitch. All recently from America."

"*Drowned*, at Cape Mount, on the 7th ult. Mr. Coy Page, formerly of Richmond City, Virginia."

Over Mr. ASHMUN, the Colonial Agent, for its own wise purposes, Providence seems to have extended a special protection. As far as we have information, he has exceedingly well discharged every duty which the orders of the Board of Managers, or the emergency of occasion, has devolved upon him.—*Nat. Int.*

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## Fourth of July.

"The following very judicious remarks have just appeared under the editorial head in the Richmond Family Visitor."

"*What shall we render unto the Lord in return for his mercies?*"

"The anniversary of our independence is approaching. Festivities are preparing to commemorate the grand epoch of our national existence. All hearts assume the livery of joy, and the voice of pleasure is heard through our land. In the midst of this tumultuous excitement there are two considerations that press imperiously upon all the reflecting minds within our state. The one is, that among the numerous sacrifices offered at the shrine of pleasure, there is but little of that pure incense of the heart which alone is acceptable to the Author of our blessings: The other, that Virginia is not rising in

the national scale in proportion to her intellectual advantages. These melancholy convictions must cast a shade over the mind that admits them, even in the full career of thoughtless mirth. When the festive cup is quaffed with mild rejoicings, and reason totters under its customary libations, who can say that there is room in any heart for the calm and holy feeling of devotional thanksgiving? And yet, many of those who gather around the genial board and feast to satiety, will admit, in moments of sober reflection, that their homage is not offered where alone it is due. Who gave to America the blessing of independence? who went forth with her undisciplined armies, and bore the trophies of victory from the veteran warriors of Britain? Who imbued the hearts of her people with patriotic valour; and gave to her unpractised legislators the wisdom of sages? There are few who will impute the wonders of that period, to aught but the wonder-working principle of divine Power. There are many who will be ready to exclaim "Not unto us, not unto us! but unto thee, O Lord, be the honour and glory given!" Then let us give Him the glory, not in licentious revelings, not in sensual enjoyments! But in His own Temple and in His own appointed manner, let the praise and honour be ascribed to Him who gave us the blessings we enjoy. There is another consideration that demands our notice. This is a time of preparation. The customs of our state have sanctioned an almost universal profusion of expense, and appropriation of surplus money to gaudies and luxuries for the season. Nay! there are no doubt sacrifices made of better and more useful things, to enable individuals to bear a part in the customary pageant. All this is not really thought necessary. It has rather become habitual through want of thought. Many things are done in conformity with general practice, which a little reflection would cause to be left undone. There is at this time an imperious demand for the surplus money of our country in behalf of benevolent and charitable institutions. Our own ignorant poor need instruction. Untutored heathen require the Gospel. And above all, Ethiopia stretches out her hands over our heaven-rescued land, and claims from us a portion of those blessings which we receive from the God of nations. What shall we reply to this supplication? shall we say, we cannot give all, therefore we will give nothing? We cannot hope to finish so great a work, therefore we will not begin it? Or shall we urge that our finite minds perceive errors in a plan that bears the evident stamp of infinite Wisdom? Perhaps another plea might be brought forward in extenuation of our backwardness in this work of mercy. May not our national misfortune have blunted our sympathies, so that we can behold human misery every day without desiring to alleviate it? Who does not perceive that this is one of the tendencies of that evil which we wish to prepare a way for removing; and who can help attributing the opposition made to the humane scheme of colonizing free people of colour to this humiliating cause? But if we quietly endure circumstances so repugnant to humanity as the attendant consequences of slavery; what effect will the accumulated force of example and soul enslaving habit, have upon our posterity? Add to these powerful preventives of human improvement, the recorded arguments of prejudice and misdirected talent,

which have been hurled against the infant scheme of Colonization, and where will our descendants of another century rank in the fluctuating scale of national prosperity? But this is the cause of humanity, and it must interest unperverted minds. It is the cause of God! and it must prevail! Let its opposers beware then of nerving their sinews to this strife, lest haply they should be found to war against the Eternal. Let timid, startled minds rest from their fears. If the Almighty arm is not with the friends of Colonization, they can no more accomplish their object, than the first little band of hardy adventurers, who encountered unnumbered perils on our shores, could have planted a colony, destined to extend its dominions from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The enemies of this cause are ingenious in conjuring up chimeras, and devising prophetic terrors to deter persons from engaging in a work of mercy. Its friends however might have a fuller scope for imagination, were they to predict the probable consequences of a passive submission to this evil. But can we think that these people will like us less for considering them as entitled to the mercies of our common father? No! they are human beings! and not so viper-like in their propensities, as to wish to sting the bosoms that are teeming with plans for meliorating the condition of their race. The friends of Colonization must endure with patience the mistaken opposition of others, and persevere in their own designs with courageous firmness; trusting in all things, to divine light and strength. But to return to the preparations for our national festivals. Suppose some few of those who are accustomed to contribute to the dissipation of that day, were to set a laudable example, and give another destination to the sum so appropriated? Would not some hands, about to add their contribution to the hoards of luxury, falter over the prostituted coin, if the cry of poor afflicted Africa was heard? And it will be heard, by all who do not selfishly close their hearts to its appeal! It will be sounded from the pulpit over our native state, on the anniversary of our deliverance from bondage! It will mingle with the claims of our acknowledged sovereign, who will on that day prove whether the gratitude of his people is an active principle, or a cold customary profession. There are no doubt females in our country who look forward with pleasurable anticipations to the approaching celebration. Their preparations are now making; they have calculated the cost of the gala dress, and imagined its tasteful decorations. Could not one flower or ribbon, or any other trapping, be omitted, for the sake of reserving a trifle for the cause of humanity! Let them reflect for a moment and determine which sound will be most pleasant to their ears, the voice of flattery and adulation in this world, or the soul thrilling accents of the Eternal Judge, when he commends his people for their works of charity. "In as much as you did it to the least of these, you did it unto me!" then, they will be qualified to decide, between the false, fleeting, dangerous pleasures of dissipation, and the sweet and holy feeling of enjoyment arising from the consciousness of having divine grace within the heart."

We perceive through the public journals, a general disposition to favor the proposed plan of making collections for the Coloniza-

tion Society, on the fourth of July, or on the Sabbath which immediately precedes or succeeds that day. The Baptist General Convention, we are glad to see, has renewed its recommendation of this measure the present year, and also the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. The christian publications of the day, almost unanimously, give it their sanction; and we cannot but hope, the occasion will prove, that present appearances have their origin in no evanescent feeling, but in settled convictions of duty.

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### Stanzas.

Light of the world arise! arise!  
On Africa thy glories shed;  
Fetter'd, in darkness deep she lies  
With weeping eye, and drooping head.

Through gloomy wilds which shade her shore,  
The blood-stain'd murderer seeks his prey;  
Those shrieks,—that light—'tis seen no more,  
The victims where, O where are they?

Why heed their doom? for hope can give  
To death e'en beauty's softest light;  
It conquers pain, its raptures live,  
When fades whate'er of earth is bright.

But what avails if yet unknown,  
Hope's kindling flame and living power?  
Come they not from the eternal Throne?  
Cheer they the sinner's dying hour?

Light of the world arise! arise!  
Millions in tears await the day;  
Shine cloudless, forth, O cheer our eyes,  
And banish sin and grief away.

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N. B. The collections which may be taken up for the Colonization Society, on the fourth of July, or on some Sunday near to it, will, we hope, be *early* transmitted to Richard Smith, Esq. of this city, Treasurer of the Institution.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

JULY, 1826.

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REVIEW OF THE

**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 109.)

WHILE thus employed for the relief of oppressed English citizens, Mr. Sharp continued to feel a deep concern in the fate of the American colonists, and apprehended, with sincere and patriotic grief, the disastrous results of that contest which finally dismembered the British empire.

His extraordinary philanthropy, as well as able defence of the rights of the people, had given him a high reputation in America, and, by the influence of his opinions, he became, though perhaps unconsciously, a powerful instrument in the work of our National Independence. His "Declaration of the rights of the people to a share in the Legislature," transmitted to America by Dr. Franklin in 1774, was re-printed at Boston, in an edition of seven thousand copies, and was subsequently re-published both in New-York and Philadelphia. He was made acquainted with the success of his pamphlet, by eminent individuals in this country; and from this intercourse, it is believed, the idea was derived, that "Mr. Sharp was *secretly* employed in a kind of diplomatic capacity."

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city by the heads of the United States, to treat for their interests with the parent country.\* That he was considered a warm and disinterested friend to the Americans, is unquestionable. But his integrity never diminished his patriotism, nor his concern for the colonies, his loyalty to the king. He refused to array himself under the banners of a faction, and the following memorandum will show, that he knew how to conduct with perfect honor as an Englishman; while he could not approve of the measures of his government:

"Nov. 23, 1778.—Received a letter from my friend Mr. ———, inviting me to dine with him on Tuesday next, to meet governor ———, in these terms: 'Our governor ———, would be happy to have the pleasure of meeting you, and of deploring with you, in friendly confidence, the misery and ruin of this devoted country,' &c. This was so like the style in which the governor sought private conferences in America, that I thought it prudent to send an immediate answer, that I was sorry I could not wait on him."

Men of eminent purity and rectitude, not unfrequently, perhaps, err in estimating the amount of their moral influence. They are too little aware of the wide difference which separates them from the mass of society, and of the weight of imagined interest and the force of passions by which their opinions are counteracted. But the success of Mr. Sharp's writings in America, as well as his conscious integrity, led him to indulge the hope that his own countrymen would listen to his suggestions. Such an expectation, though illusive, stimulated him to exertion, until it was impossible not to perceive that his efforts were vain.

In 1777, being informed by two American gentlemen, perfectly acquainted with the affairs of their country, "that the United States, notwithstanding their late declaration of independence, were still inclined to a re-union with England even *under the crown*, provided his majesty's ministers would give them a *proof of their sincerity*, and having ascertained that the proof required, was an acknowledgment of *their natural rights as British subjects*, and that if the offer of such acknowledgment were not made by England, within six months, the door of reconciliation would be forever closed, Mr. Sharp held a long conference with the secretary of state on the expediency of exhibiting such dispositions on the part of government, as might bring back America to al-

\* An opinion of this kind was expressed in an obituary account, though Mr. Hoare considers it without foundation.

legiance to the British crown." It was made evident during this interview, that the American colonies would demand such an alteration in the House of Commons as would secure to them the rights enjoyed by the counties of England. Mr. Sharp spent several days in searching for precedents to justify such a change, and submitted them to his lordship. But with this he was not satisfied. He tendered his personal services to the Duke of Richmond, asserting with his usual warmth, "that he would undertake to bring back the American empire to a constitutional allegiance under the crown of Great Britain, and added, that he would pledge his life for the success, provided a proper pledge could be given of our sincerity in treating." He produced his reasons for this confidence, which were, his conversations with many intelligent Americans, and the singular favour which the people of the United States had shown to his writings. The general approbation of his pamphlet was unequivocal evidence, that the elements of disunion had no *necessary* existence in America, and the prevailing belief in his sincerity, as a lover of peace and liberty, might, he hoped, compensate for his deficiency (as he modestly described it) in the talents of speech, memory, or art.

In these meritorious labours, Mr. Sharp was seconded by general Oglethorpe, who recommended him to lord Chatham, "and many years after, he had the melancholy gratification, of finding that his plan was indeed submitted to the ministry; but that it wanted other arguments than those of peace and charity, to procure its adoption." It was overruled, and the fatal term expired.\*

But the failure of Mr. Sharp in this great project of reconciliation, did not check his ardour or his energy in the cause of God and man. The zeal which animated him was Divine, and even when disappointed, his spirit derived refreshment and strength from the Fountain of Living Waters. The account of his renewed attempts to relieve the Africans, is introduced by his biographer, with the following impressive passage:

\* Mr. Hoare says, he has not been able to discover from what source the proposal of a six months' interval proceeded. He thinks the nature of the transaction might have demanded secrecy as to its *movers*. Mr. Hoare further adds, "I am enabled to add a confirmation of Mr. Sharp's statement, from an American of high respectability, residing in this country; who, in August, 1815, related to me, that two brothers of the name of ———, one of whom had for many years been resident in London, were the persons employed to hold forth the propositions of reconciliation, between the two countries."

"His efforts to suspend the mutual bloodshed of the two countries having failed, Granville once more bent his thoughts, and with increased earnestness, to the subject of African slavery, on which he entertained hopes of making a far more successful progress. In the memorandums which are next to be laid before the reader, will be found the spring that set in motion the vast and important engine of public opinion, in regard to the abolition of the infamous slave trade. It is impossible not to be impressed with fresh admiration, when we behold the indefatigable constancy of a virtuous man in the cause of his helpless fellow-creatures. Immeasurable as the distance of redress and the difficulty of the enterprize appeared to be, his mind was fixed on an attempt to eradicate that disgrace of a civilized empire. He was aware that he was without power; but perseverance and the span of life were in his hands, and he resolved on devoting both to the benevolent purpose of his ambition. The zeal with which his first applications were met, and which gave confidence to his endeavours, will also claim our respect. The honour of our country is involved in both.

The reader is well acquainted with the progress in America, of a friendly disposition towards the negro slaves, which had first manifested itself about the year 1770, and which has been shown also in the letter of the Quaker, Benezet. It was increased in 1773, by the literary labours of Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, whose writings had a very extensive circulation, and served greatly to promote the good cause for which they were undertaken. In 1774, Dr. Rush, in conjunction with James Pemberton, and others of the most conspicuous among the Friends in Pennsylvania, undertook to unite, in one body, all those of different religious persuasions, who were zealous in behalf of the African sufferers; and hence arose a society, which was confined to Pennsylvania, and was the first of that nature ever formed in America.

This society had scarcely begun to act, when the war broke out with England, and materially checked its operations. The *cause*, however, did not languish in the minds of good men, although, from the calamitous circumstances that followed the commencement of an unnatural contest, it was unfortunately confined to those alone.

Mr. Sharpe's mental engagements bound him alike to the service of religion and freedom; and a sense of his united duties, appeared strongly in the conduct which he adopted respecting the condition of African slaves. It has been stated to be the natural bias of his disposition, to turn at once to the most powerful sources of aid, in every arduous undertaking. His deeply religious sentiments had led him to a just consideration of the advantages to be derived from the important character of the dignitaries of our church; and he was readily induced to believe, that a vigorous appeal to men of exalted christian principles, could not be hopeless. The ministers of that religion which had first broken down the hostile barriers between nation and nation, and had in its progress abolished slavery in a large part of the world, he conceived to be the fittest, and therefore likely to be the warmest advocates for the perfecting so great a work, and diffusing the love and charity of the gospel over the furthest corners of the earth."



It appears, that soon after the decision in the case of Somerset, Mr. Sharp had addressed a letter to Mr. Lloyd, for the perusal of the arch-bishop of York (Dr. Drummond) with whose disposition to aid the cause of freedom, he had been made acquainted. Apprehensive as he was, that slavery would be countenanced by parliament the next winter, he spoke of his intention to address the right reverend bishops and clergy, and submit it to their consideration, whether this matter did not demand their intervention. As watchful pastors of the flock, and ministers of the gospel of peace, he deemed it their solemn duty to exert their utmost abilities to prevent national injustice, and to oppose any measures which might tend to render manners licentious, or the heart inhuman. He knew that the clergy had immense influence. He thought it for the honor of the church, that this influence should be exerted in favour of the Africans. He saw that a union among the venerable bishops for this purpose, would conciliate the dissenters. Thus, numerous and powerful motives were combined to stimulate him in his applications and appeals to the clergy of England;—nor did he appeal in vain. In 1779 he writes, “This spring, I have at different times, had the honor of conversing with twenty-two out of the twenty-six arch-bishops and bishops, on the subject of the slave trade, during the time that the African affairs were under the consideration of a committee of the house of commons; and I met with none that did not concur with my sentiments on the subject.” Most of them expressed their determination to oppose any encouragement of this traffic, should it come up for discussion before the house of lords.

What responsibility (for it is difficult to resist the reflection) is imposed upon the ministry, by the opportunities, means, and influence, with which it is favoured in every christian land! The first object of the clergy is, indeed, to secure the immortal interests of mankind, but they also deal in matters not less closely connected with the welfare and duties of domestic and civil life. Upon them, more than any other class of men, depends the peace and purity of families, and the justice and stability of governments. The moral principles which they do or ought to promulgate, constitute the basis alike of individual welfare and national strength. By these are all human rights defined; by these should be regulated all human relations. While it belongs not to the instructors in christianity to meddle with affairs of mere secu-

lar concernment, it is theirs, by establishing within the soul a dominion of righteousness, and by reducing under the Divine Law, all the springs of human action, to govern with an influence silent, benign, free and universal as the light of Heaven, not only the faculties of individuals, but the institutions of states and empires. That christianity has nothing to do with government, is a doctrine equally false and dangerous. The only just government, is that, which, throughout its whole system, is pervaded by the spirit of christianity. Morality is one and the same thing, in individuals and social bodies. In the latter, it may admit of more various and extensive application;—still, of political institutions, *christian equity* ought to be the foundation; and of all their operations, *christian charity* the moving power. To the admonitions of the clergy, the popular mind is always accessible; and we trust, their pious influence will ever be exerted in our own country, to purify the fountains of law, and prevent the abuses of power.

In his correspondence and interviews with the bishops, Mr. Sharp aimed not merely at the suppression of the slave trade, but also, at such parliamentary reform, as might contribute to bring the negotiations with America to a favourable termination. He now published (in 1780) the tract which he had prepared at the request of lord Dartmouth, entitled, "Equitable representation necessary to the establishment of law, peace, and good government;" and in the spring of the same year, three other tracts, concerning annual parliaments. "My first motive," he says, "for interfering in political reformation, was an earnest desire to promote *peace with America*; the two subjects being connected with each other, and both with tolerating slavery in America." To advance the work of political improvement, he instituted a correspondence with committees of associations formed for that object, in many of the counties of England, conversed with the secretary of the treasury, proposed a meeting of the bishops, to consider the dangerous state of public affairs, and neglected nothing which might conduce to the fulfilment of his design.

His anxiety to bring to an end the contest with America, will be more manifest from the following notes in his manuscript:

"March 15, 1781. Mr. Laurens, late President of Congress, and his family, called here.

"June 21. Having received information from Mr. ——— that while he was in Holland, on account of business, he had some opportunities of con-

versation with Mr. Adams, the American envoy; from whose discourse, he gathered, that it was not too late to treat with America for peace and commerce, *provided their independence was not denied*. I went this morning to the duke of ———, but he was out of town.

"23. Waited on lord Dartmouth, at Black-heath. I informed his lordship of the possibility of still treating with America, provided independency was admitted. He said, as both parties seemed to be agreed, that America ought to be dependent on parliament, it would be extremely dangerous for any minister to admit the independence, as he would be liable to be impeached for treason. I urged the necessity of peace. He said "the parliament had very fairly offered the full, free constitution of England, in 1778; but I appealed to his lordship, in reply, whether I had not clearly stated, in March, 1777, that no terms short of independency could be accepted, *six months after the time I waited on him*. The failure therefore, of the proposal, *twelve months afterwards*, was only a proof of the truth of my former information."

Mr. Sharp also stated, that lord North was convinced in March, 1778, of the necessity of acknowledging the independence of America, but was intimidated by the opposition of lords Chatham and Shelbourne, &c. but that now, the absurdity of opposing such a measure was so evident, he thought no party would attempt to counteract it. He further added, that he would run any risk to make peace; that he hoped his lordship would weigh these considerations, and command his personal services, if in any way they could be usefully employed. About this time, the following anonymous letter was received by Mr. Sharp:

*September 22d, 1781.*

"DEAR SIR:

Though my name will not be at the end of this letter, I must entreat your particular attention to the following extract of a letter I have just received from a person of great worth in Holland, and who loves England most cordially, notwithstanding he is much in the confidence of a *principal person on the American side of the question, now in Europe*.

*'Look out, and find a sensible, honest man in office, and conjure him to save his country from eternal ruin, by making up matters immediately with America.* The first cost will be the least; the longer the matter is delayed, the more will America be estranged from England.

*'The interest and power of France increase daily, owing to the inconsiderate persistence of the English councils, which drives the Americans to the necessity of defending and securing themselves by every possible means. Nothing can be more fatal to England, than that France should have the absolute settlement of the terms of peace. And yet this will be the case, if a great and liberal conduct is not immediately pursued. I cannot explain myself, but I entreat you to consider this as no slight hint: the Englishman who does, is an enemy to his country.'*

"Thus far for my friend, for whose veracity and sincerity, I will stake every thing which is near and dear to me, and to which I add, 'Carpe diem quam minimum credule posteri.'"

This letter was submitted to lord Dartmouth, and copies were enclosed to the bishop of Peterborough, and the arch-bishop of Canterbury. Mr. Sharp also waited upon the arch-bishop of Canterbury, and urged the propriety of a union among the bishops, to move for the termination of the ruinous war.

But while thus occupied with this great object, other matters of public interest did not escape his vigilant and benevolent attentions. "His desire of public beneficence, was become an intelligent spirit of legal liberty; and his feelings were excited by every important occurrence, and every public measure, which touched in any material part our constitution, or our relative condition in society."

The menacing aspect of public affairs, rendered it important to adopt measures for the defence of the city of London; and Mr. Sharp exhibited his usual ardour and energy for the furtherance of the object.

Aug. 21, 1781. This morning called on the following aldermen, Bull, Plumer, Clark, then on Mr. Vaughan,† who immediately went, at my request, to the Lord Mayor.

He soon after called on me, and said the Lord Mayor desired to speak with me, at six o'clock. I went accordingly, and had a great deal of discourse on the training the citizens to arms, for their own defence, in case of an invasion. As he wanted information concerning the militia laws of London, I promised to search for some remarks, which I had drawn up in June, 1780, soon after the riots. These I delivered to his lordship this morning, with some further remarks on the state of the city militia.

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\* This will, no doubt, says Mr. Hoare, remind the reader of some anonymous publications, written by Dr. Franklin, while in England; and it was perhaps, from this cause, that Mr. Sharp attached so considerable importance to it. Much of this *unauthorized agency* appeared during the war.

† Benjamin Vaughan, Esq. L. L. D. former member of parliament; a gentleman eminent for his learning and philanthropy. For many years past, he has resided at Hallowell, in the state of Maine; highly respected for his knowledge, hospitality, and virtue. The editor of this journal is greatly indebted to him, for several interesting facts concerning Mr. Sharp, and also, for the loan of a volume of his admirable tracts. Mr. Vaughan's library is not, we believe, exceeded in value and extent, by any private collection of books in the United States.

It was about this time, also, that a correspondence took place between lord Carysfort and Mr. Sharp, respecting the affairs of Ireland. The feelings of the latter were a short time after, much excited by the famous motion of Mr. Grattan, in the Irish House of Commons, "asserting the right of Ireland to legislate for itself, and that the claims of any body of men other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, were unconstitutional and illegal." Letters were addressed by Mr. Sharp, in a style of unusual boldness, to the duke of Portland, Mr. Fox, secretary of state, and the duke of Richmond, on this subject, and the success of Mr. Grattan's motion, and one of the first subsequent acts of the new ministry, expedited the passing of an act expressly removing the legislative authority of the British parliament, in relation to Ireland.

Nor did Mr. Sharp feel less concern for the public morals, than for the political justice of England. The shameful change of the habits of the two sexes in the theatres, gave him great offence, and he requested the bishop of London to confer with the arch-bishop of Canterbury, and by application to the lord Chamberlain, prevent such violation of decorum and good manners. "He also presented a remonstrance to the arch-bishop of York, whose son had acted the part of *Thais* in Terence's comedy of the Eunuch, at Westminster school. He read his remonstrance, also, to Dr. Smith, the master of the school, who promised to represent it to the bishop of Rochester, and said, that the plays might be prevented *next year*; but the custom of acting them had continued for two hundred years, and (he believed) was enjoined by the statutes."

Who that has accompanied us thus far in these interesting memoirs, does not feel a sentiment of admiration, not only for the singular CONSCIENTIOUSNESS of Granville Sharp, but for his remarkable obedience to that Divine injunction, in view of the shortness of life, so appropriate, and of our responsibility, so impressive, "*Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.*" He was not less prompt in action, than correct in judgment. The distinct sight of his object, was instantly followed by the pursuit of it. He appears to have laboured like one, who perceived that life was too short to allow of his executing all the plans of his benevolence. With his loins girded, and his lamp ever burning in faith, patience, and works of charity, he waited to give in his

account to the Judge of All. Undaunted by opposition, and unwearied in effort, careless of all fame which was not built on virtue, but truly ambitious of heavenly honours, he devoted his time and his talents to mankind and to God.

(*To be continued.*)

## Memoir of the Sufferings, &c. of the American Colonists.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 119.)

The settlers were particularly embarrassed by their uncertainty as to the actual connexion subsisting between their neighbours of the larger island, and their enemy. Bă Caiă, who was at the head of the former, had constantly held forth the most friendly professions; and at this time, by secretly supplying them with fuel and water, gave a more substantial proof than ever, of their sincerity. But his plantations and numerous detached bodies of his people, were entirely exposed to the power of the Deys, with whom it was of the first necessity for him to maintain an amicable correspondence. Hence he came unavoidably to incur the suspicions of the colonists, who, from the proximity of his town, could at any hour lay it in ashes. Bă Caiă had, for many years, sustained himself in his unprotected and delicate situation by means of a fortunate alliance with king Boatswain\*, one of the most fa-

\* Boatswain is a native of Shebar. In his youth he had served in some menial capacity on board of an English merchant vessel, where he acquired the name which he still retains. His personal qualifications are of the most commanding description; and to them he appears wholly indebted for his present notoriety. To a stature approaching seven feet in height, perfectly erect, muscular, and finely proportioned—a countenance noble, intelligent, and full of animation—he unites great comprehension and activity of mind, and, what is still more imposing, a savage loftiness and even grandeur of sentiment—forming altogether, an assemblage of qualities, obviously disproportioned to the actual sphere of his ambition. He is prodigal of every thing except the means of increasing the terror of his name. “I give you a bullock,” said he to an agent of the Society, “not to be considered as Boatswain’s present, but for your breakfast.” To his friend Ba Caiă, he once sent, “King B. is your friend: he therefore advises you to lose not a moment in providing yourself plenty of powder and ball—or, in three days (the least time possible to make the journey) let me see my fugitive woman again.”

mous and powerful chiefs of the Condoes. Boatswain's power had been often felt by the maritime tribes, and the most convincing proofs of it were continually given in his bloody wars in the interior. He had thus been long acquiring a general influence, which gave him, even in the affairs of his neighbours, an authority little short of dictatorial. To this powerful ally, the old man now had recourse ; who, with the promptitude which distinguishes all his movements, immediately made his appearance on the Montserado, not, as he said, to *pronounce sentence*, between the coast people and the strangers, but to *do justice*: and he had actually brought along with him a force sufficient to carry his decisions into immediate effect. But the Deys, however stung by this insolence, were not in a situation to resent it.

The Agents who had been absent from the Cape since the commencement of these trying events, now rejoined the settlers on the island. Boatswain having by a direct exertion of authority, convoked the head-chiefs of the neighbourhood, sent for the Agents and principal settlers, to come and explain the nature of their claims on the country, and to set forth their grievances. They complained of the 'bad faith of the Deys in withholding the possession of lands which they had sold to the colonists ; and of the injurious acts of hostility committed by king George, apparently with the consent of his superiors.' A desultory and noisy discussion followed, in which the savage umpire disdained to take any part whatever. . But having ascertained the prominent facts of the case, he at length arose, and put an end to the assembly by laconically remarking to the Deys, "That having sold their country, and accepted the payment in part, they must take the consequences. Their refusal of the balance of the purchase money, did not annul, or affect the bargain. Let the Americans have their lands immediately. Whoever is not satisfied with my decision, let him tell me so !" Then, turning to the Agents, "I promise you protection. If these people give you further disturbance, send for me. And I swear, if they oblige me to come again to quiet them, I will do it to purpose, by taking their heads from their shoulders ; as I did old king George's, on my last visit to the coast, to settle disputes."

Whatever might be thought of the equity of this decision, there was but one sentiment as to the necessity of acquiescing in it. The usual interchange of friendly presents between the parties,

then took place ; and the settlers immediately resumed their labours on the Cape.

That guardian Providence which has so graciously made the protection of this infant settlement, in every stage, the object of its tenderest care, has in few instances been more conspicuous, than in thus employing the ill-gotten power of an ambitious stranger in the interior of Africa, to deliver the colonists, at a moment when hostilities would have defeated their object, from the machinations of their treacherous neighbours. To render this interposition the more remarkable, it had actually proceeded to the length of removing the principal obstacles to the pacification of the Deys, almost without an effort on the part of the settlers, and entirely without the knowledge, or the presence, of either of the Agents. There would be a degree of impiety in repressing in the breast the sentiment of religious recognition, which a single dispensation of so impressive a character is fitted to excite. But it must be perceived, in the progress of this narrative, that every instance of extraordinary providential deliverance and protection, borrows a more affecting lustre from the reflected light of many others.

On the 28th of April, the ceremony of taking possession of the Cape and country was performed, with probably the effect of adding a fresh excitement to the zeal of the people. But, shall we most deplore, or admire in human nature, that weakness which can so easily mistake the present visions of hope, for the prophecies of futurity ? On the very spot which was gladdened with the felicitations of this occasion, some who were the objects of them, were soon, alas ! to pour out their lives through the wounds received in a doubtful contest for that very occupation which they had so blindly anticipated !

But shortly after this formality, a proof of a much more significant and substantial nature, was afforded by the people, of the entire sincerity of every former profession of attachment to the country of their adoption.

The houses were yet destitute of roofs, for which the material was to be sought in the almost impracticable swamps of the country—the rainy-season-tornadoes had already commenced—the island, if much longer occupied by all the colonists, must prove the grave of many—sickness was beginning to be prevalent ; and both the Agents were among the sufferers—the store of provisions was



scanty, and all other stores nearly exhausted ! The threatening storm of native hostility had been, for a moment, averted—but the very circumstances attending the dispersion of the cloud, proved how suddenly and how easily it might re-collect its fury. Under these circumstances, deliberately surveyed, it required a very large share of operative confidence in the providence of the Most High, not to have yielded to the discouragement they so strongly tended to create : and it is not to be admired, that the Agent should have come forward with a proposal to re-embark the settlers, and stores, and convey them back to Sierra Leone. But from this proposal a large majority of the people entirely dissented ; and it was urged no farther. And could we estimate events according to their intrinsic importance, independently of their disguising or concealing circumstances, that interesting moment would doubtless form the era, whence the real occupation of Africa ought to date ; and which deserves its annual celebration, as long as the colony shall afford an asylum to the oppressed strangers of Africa. For the little band who embraced, under prospects so replete with the most appalling difficulties and dangers, the resolution of remaining on the Montserado, however abandoned, gave in the very act, the best pledge in their power to offer,—a pledge in which their property, their health, their families, and their lives were included, to find for themselves, and their brethren, a home in Africa. And it is a pledge I add, which an approving Providence has since enabled them, at the expense of some blood, and many severe toils, triumphantly to redeem.

Mr. Wiltberger, the Society's assistant Agent, consented to await with the people, the return of the schooner from another trip to the windward. But the number of the settlers, small at first, was yet farther reduced by the departure along with Dr. Ayres, of a small number who had embraced his proposal. Exclusive of the women and children and four native Africans, the little force remaining, numbered 21 persons capable of bearing arms.

The settled rains of the season now set in with uncommon violence : and the struggles and hardships encountered by this houseless, but persevering band, are not easily to be imagined. But before the last of May, several families had removed and taken up their residence on the Peninsula ; a store-house sufficient to contain their stores was built of good materials ; and a small frame house finished for the Agent.

In the second week of July, the island was finally evacuated, and all were happily re-united, each in his own humble dwelling, on the spot where they have since remained. The Agents had in the interim both embarked on board of the only public schooner fit for service, and sailed for the United States. The settlement was left under the supervision of one of the emigrants,\* who acquitted himself of the charge with entire credit, and at the present time enjoys in the municipal government one of the most respectable situations in the gift of the people.

It will be readily perceived that no part of the provisions necessary for the consumption of the settlers in the present season, could be drawn from the produce of the soil. Vessels seldom appear on the coast between the months of May and November ; and, as the event proved, nothing in that period could be purchased from abroad. The most economical management of the stores on hand, could not make them last more than half the season of the rains ; and the natives treacherously waiting the departure of Boatswain into the interior, and the disappearance of the little armed schooner, belonging to the Colony, on her voyage for the United States, replaced themselves in an attitude of incipient hostility, and prohibited the conveyance of supplies to the Colony out of the surrounding country. To add if possible to the dark and desperate prospects of the settlers, the stores in their possession had been reported to the managers at home, as nearly equal to a twelvemonth's consumption. But the eye of God was upon them. His providence was again interposed for their preservation.

The Government of the United States having a number of Africans in the custody of the marshal of Georgia, who had been liberated a few months previously, from the hold of a slave-vessel by the operation of the benevolent law of 1819, determined at this time on the transportation of them to their native country. A vessel was chartered for this service in Baltimore ; on board of which 37 persons, under the patronage of the Colonization Society, were also embarked, with a moderate supply of stores for the settlement.

This expedition was committed to the direction of Mr. J. Ashmun, who, in the expectation of aiding a good work to which much of his time and labour had been already devoted in the

\* Elijah Johnson, from New-York, in 1820.

United States, had consented to accept from the Society a commission for the voyage. Under an arrangement for returning in the same vessel, he had yielded to the affectionate solicitude of his lady to accompany him. This vessel, the brig "Strong," of Baltimore, sailed from Hampton Roads on the 26th of May; but proving a most indifferent sailor, did not arrive in the offing of Fayal, one of the western islands, before the 26th of June. Having at this island repaired the injury sustained in a very severe and protracted gale, and refreshed the already exhausted passengers, she sailed again on the 3d of July, and anchored under Cape Montserado on the 8th of August. Of 55 passengers not an individual had suffered from indisposition on the last half of this tedious voyage.

The following day, on communicating with the shore, Mr. Ashmun found, equally to his astonishment and regret, that both the Agents had taken their departure from the country—that the public property, as already related, had been chiefly consumed by fire—and that the immediate prospects of the settlers, precarious before on account of their numerical weakness in the midst of barbarous nations, was but little improved by an accession of numbers, without a proportional increase of the means of subsisting them. It was now the height of the rainy season; but not even a thatch roof was to be found not in the occupancy of the settlers—some of whom were still very insufficiently sheltered themselves. Houses were therefore to be built for the reception of the emigrants before they could be safely landed; and a secure store house, completed before it was possible to discharge the transport.

Mr. Ashmun found himself constrained, by the pledge he had given the Board of Managers, to render the Colony whatever aid might be in his power, and by every motive which humanity could supply, to take charge of the Colony, and convert its slender resources, whether for the protection, or subsistence of the people, to the best account. A large store-house was accordingly laid off, and the only practicable preparations made, during the 9th, for landing the passengers. But in the morning of the same day, the brig having unfortunately parted a cable, was obliged to throw out the only remaining anchor on board; by which she was lying when the Agent returned on board in the evening.

But, at day light on the 10th, the watch gave the alarming intelligence that the cable had again parted, and the best bower anchor gone! The vessel was lying two cable's length from the beach,

and a strong breeze blew directly on shore. But the current from the river favouring at the moment, the vessel was by the prompt exertions of an active crew, got under sail in time to save her from immediate destruction ; and by being brought close to the wind, was enabled to make good a course parallel with that part of the coast. The passengers, to the number of 51, were still on board. The brig's boats could not land ten persons at a trip ; and after struggling for 48 hours to get to windward, the vessel was found to be land-locked completely, within the projecting promontories of Capes Montserado and Mount. The reader in the least acquainted with nautical affairs, may conjecture the probable fate both of the vessel and passengers. But Providence again interposed for the preservation of both. A small anchor was recovered by the assistance of the boats, by which the brig was again moored in the road-stead ; but at the distance of 5 miles from the settlement. The people were safely landed on the 13th and 14th ; but owing to the prevalence of boisterous weather, the loss of the principal boat employed in the service, and the sickening of the boatmen, it became a work of the most severe and difficult nature, to bring her cargo to land. In the Colonial Journal of this period, several instances are met with in which the only boat that could be employed in this business, was carried twenty miles out to sea by the force of the currents, and returned at the end of 24 hours, without having been able to approach within a league of the brig ! But after four weeks of incessant exertion, the Agent enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the passengers and property all safe ashore ; the latter secured in an extensive store-house ; and most of the former in a good measure protected from the incessant rains of that inclement season.

In the mean time the Agent had lost not a moment in ascertaining the external relations of the settlement, and the temper of its neighbours. He immediately proceeded to visit the most considerable of the kings ; whom he thought it safe to bind to a pacific policy, by encouraging them to open a trade with the Colony—by forming with them new amicable alliances—and receiving the sons and subjects of as many as possible to instruct in the language and arts of civilization. But it could not escape observation that under these smooth and friendly appearances, lurked a spirit of determined malignity, which only waited for an opportunity to exert itself for the ruin of the infant Colony. So early as the

18th of August, the present Martello tower was therefore planned ; a company of labourers employed by the Agent, in clearing the ground on which it stands ; and a particular survey taken of the military strength, and means of the settlers. Of the native Americans, 27, when not sick, were able to bear arms ; but they were wholly untrained to their use ; and capable in their present undisciplined state of making but a very feeble defence indeed. There were 40 muskets in store, which, with repairing, were capable of being rendered serviceable. Of 1 brass, and 5 iron guns attached to the settlement, the last only was fit for service, and four of the former required carriages. Several of these were nearly buried in the mud on the opposite side of the river. Not a yard of abattis, or other fence-work had been constructed. There was no fixed ammunition ; nor, without great difficulty and delay, was it possible to load the only gun which was provided with a sufficient carriage.

It was soon perceived that the means as well as an organized system of defence were to be originated, without either the materials, or the artificers usually considered necessary for such purposes. In the organization of the men, thirteen African youths attached to the United States' Agency, most of whom had never loaded a musket, were enrolled in the lieutenant's corps, and daily exercised in the use of arms. The guns were, one after another, with infinite labour transported over the river, conveyed to the height of the peninsula, and mounted on rough truck carriages, which, in the event, proved to answer a very good purpose. A master of ordnance was appointed, who, with his assistants, repaired the small arms—made up a quantity of fixed ammunition, and otherwise aided in arranging the details of the service.

The little town was closely environed, except on the side of the river, with the heavy forest in the bosom of which it was situated—thus giving to a savage enemy an important advantage of which it became absolutely necessary to deprive him, by enlarging to the utmost, the cleared space about the buildings. This labour was immediately undertaken, and carried on without any other intermission, than that caused by sickness of the people, and the interruption of other duties equally connected with the safety of the place. But the rains were immoderate and nearly constant.

In addition to these fatiguing labours, was that of maintaining the nightly watch ;—which, from the number of sentinels neces-

sary for the common safety, shortly became more exhausting than all the other burdens of the people. No less than 20 individuals were every night detailed for this duty, after the 31st of August.

At the commencement of the third week after his arrival, the Agent was attacked with fever—and three days afterwards experienced the greater calamity of perceiving the health of his wife assailed with symptoms of a still more alarming character.

The sickness from this period made a rapid progress among the last division of emigrants. On the 1st of September 12 were wholly disabled. The burdens thus thrown upon their brethren accelerated the work of the climate so rapidly, that on the 10th of this month, of the whole expedition, only two remained fit for any kind of service. The Agent was enabled, by a merciful dispensation of Divine Providence, to maintain a difficult struggle with his disorder for four weeks ; in which period, after a night of delirium and suffering, it was not an unusual circumstance for him to be able to spend an entire morning in laying off and directing the execution of the public works.

King George abandoned his town on the Cape, about the 1st of September ; and conveyed all his people and moveables towards the head waters of the Junk river, at about 6 leagues distance. The intercourse between the other people of the tribe and the settlement had nearly terminated ; and the native youths, whose residence on the Cape had been regarded as the best security of the good conduct of the tribe, were daily deserting, in consequence, as it was ascertained, of secret intelligence conveyed them by their friends.

The plan of defence adopted was to station five heavy guns, at the different angles of a triangle which should circumscribe the whole settlement—each of the angles resting on a point of ground sufficiently commanding to enfilade two sides of the triangle, and sweep a considerable extent of ground beyond the lines. The guns at these stations were to be covered by musket proof triangular stockades, of which any two should be sufficient to contain all the settlers in their wings. The brass piece and two swivels mounted on travelling carriages, were stationed in the centre, ready to support the post which might be exposed to the heaviest attack. After completing these detached works, it was in the intention of the Agent, had the enemy allowed the time, to join all together by a paling to be carried quite around the settlement ;—and in the event

of a yet longer respite, to carry on, as rapidly as possible, under the protection of the nearest fortified point, the construction of the Martello tower ; which, as soon as completed, would nearly supersede all the other works ; and by presenting an impregnable barrier to the success of any native force, probably become the instrument of a general and permanent pacification. Connected with these measures of safety, was the extension to the utmost, of the cleared space about the settlement, still leaving the trees and brushwood, after being separated from their trunks, to spread the ground with a tangled hedge, through which nothing should be able to make its way, except the shot from the batteries.

This plan was fully communicated to the most intelligent of the people ; which, in the event of the disability or death of the Agent, they might, it was hoped, so far carry into effect as to ensure the preservation of the settlement.

It was an occasion of grateful acknowledgment to that Divine Power under whose heavy hand the Agent was now obliged to bow, that he had been spared to settle these arrangements, and see them in a train of accomplishment, previous to his being laid entirely aside. It was also a source of melancholy satisfaction that he was permitted to watch the fatal progress of disease in an affectionate wife until the last ray of intellectual light was extinguished by its force, two days before her death. Her life had been one of uncommon devotion and self-denial, inspired by a vigorous and practical faith in the Divine Saviour of the world ; and her end, according to his promise, was ineffable peace. She expired on Sunday the 15th of September.

Two of the emigrants belonging to the last expedition followed in the same week ; at which time there remained but a single individual of the company not on the sick list.

From this date until the first week in November, the Agent continued in an extremely low and dangerous state ; so entirely debilitated in body and mind, as to be nearly incapable of motion, and insensible to every thing except the consciousness of suffering. Two of the posts had been put in complete order in this time, he afterwards learnt, by the persevering exertions of only a part of the settlers. For as is the misfortune of all communities, so it was discovered in this, that there were individuals on whose selfish feelings, the promptings of benevolence, the demands of equity, considerations of the most pressing necessity, and the more

imperative and awful dictates of conscience, could make no effectual impression—and to whom, the moment which delivered them from that coercion of authority, was the signal for their desertion of every public, and private duty ! It is but an act of justice to the deserving colonists, to make this discrimination ; and to assure the others, wherever they happen to exist in vagrant wretchedness, that posterity will owe them no thanks that the first settlement on Cape Montserado was not reduced to a heap of carnage and ruins !

*(To be Continued.)*

## Degraded Character of the Coloured Population.

No argument, we believe, can be offered, in favour of the American Colonization Society, more impressive or affecting, than that which is presented by the following statement from the first annual Report of the PRISON DISCIPLINE SOCIETY. It must, we think, awaken, in behalf of our Institution, every humane and patriotic sentiment:

“The first cause, existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime, is the degraded character of the coloured population. The facts, which are gathered from the penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are coloured, even in those states, where the coloured population is small, show most strikingly, the connection between ignorance and vice.

In Massachusetts, the whole population is 523,000

The coloured population less than 7,000

The whole number of convicts 314

The coloured convicts 50

that is, 1-74th part of the population and nearly 1-6th part of the convicts are coloured.

In Connecticut, the whole population is 275,000

The coloured population about 8,000

The whole number of convicts is 117

The coloured convicts 39

that is, 1-34th part of the population is coloured, and 1-3d part of the convicts.

In Vermont, the whole coloured population is only 918 souls, from whom twenty-four have been furnished for the penitentiary.



In New York, the whole population is	1,372,000
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The coloured population	39,000
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The whole number of convicts in the state prison in the city is	637
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The coloured convicts	154
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that is, 1-35th part of the population is coloured, and about 1-4th part of the convicts.

In New Jersey, the whole population is	277,000
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The coloured population	20,000
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The whole number of convicts	74
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The number of coloured convicts	24
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that is, 1-13th part of the population is coloured, and 1-3d part of the convicts.

In Pennsylvania, the whole population is	1,049,000
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The coloured population	30,000
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In 1816, the whole number of convicts	407
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The number of coloured convicts	176
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In 1819, the whole number of convicts	474
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The number of coloured convicts	165
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that is, 1-34th part of the population is coloured, and more than 1-3d part of the convicts.

It is not necessary to pursue these illustrations. It is sufficiently apparent, that one great cause of the frequency and increase of crime, is neglecting to raise the character of the coloured population.

We derive an argument in favour of education from these facts.—It appears from the above statement, that about one fourth part of all the expense incurred by the states above mentioned, for the support of their criminal institutions, is for the coloured convicts.

We will therefore look a moment at the amount of the expense thus incurred.

In Massachusetts, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts, in the last ten years, has been \$106,405; of which, one sixth part, or, \$17,734 has been expended for the support of its coloured convicts.

In Connecticut, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts in the last fifteen years, has exceeded \$118,500; of which, one third part, or \$37,166, has been expended for the support of its coloured convicts.

In New York, the whole expense of the state, for the support of its convicts, at the city prison, in the twenty-seven years ending December 1823, was \$437,986; of which, one fourth part, or, \$109,166, was for the support of its coloured convicts.

The whole coloured population of the three states above mentioned, viz. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, has been less than 54,000, and for the support of the convicts from this small population, in the time specified above, the three states have expended \$164,066.

Could these states have anticipated these surprising results, and appropriated the money to raise the character of the coloured population, how much better would have been their prospects, and how much less the expense of the states through which they are dispersed, for the support of their coloured convicts.

The expenditure of \$164,000, in so short a time, for the purposes of education, among a people consisting of only 54,000 souls, would very soon raise their character to a level with that of the whites, and diminish the number of convicts from among them, about ten fold.

If, however, their character cannot be raised, where they are, a powerful argument may be derived from these facts, in favour of colonization, and civilized states ought surely to be as willing to expend money on any given part of its population, to prevent crime as to punish it.

We cannot but indulge the hope that the facts disclosed above, if they do not lead to an effort to raise the character of the coloured population, will strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts, of all the friends of colonizing the free people of colour in the northern states."

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### **Masonic Resolves.**

No late event, connected with the interest of our Institution, is more gratifying and auspicious, than the adoption of sundry resolutions by the Winder Lodge in Baltimore, recommending the plans of our Society as not unworthy the countenance and pecuniary aid of the whole Masonic Fraternity. We publish the letter of the committee by whom the resolutions were communicated.

BALTIMORE, *June 15th*, 1826.

SIR,—At a regular meeting, last night, of Winder Lodge, No. 77, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

*“Resolved, That out of any money in the funds of the Lodge not otherwise appropriated, and as soon as the same may be at the disposal of the treasurer, \$20 be subscribed to the funds of the American Colonization Society.*

*“Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, to forward this donation to the Society, with an expression of our decided approbation of the objects of their benevolent design, and our sincere desire for the complete accomplishment of their truly national and philanthropic work.*

*“Resolved, That the committee consist of the worshipful master, Richard S. Stewart, and brothers Charles C. Harper and John H. B. Latrobe.*

*“Resolved, That the committee be directed to open a correspondence on this important subject, with other Lodges throughout the State of Maryland, and elsewhere.”*

We communicate these resolutions to you, sir, with peculiar pleasure. We hope and believe, that the opinions they express will be found to pervade the whole Masonic Fraternity.. The work of gradually emancipating and removing our coloured population and planting them on the coast of Africa, without infringing the rights of individuals or disturbing the order of society, seems to us, to come, by its extensive benevolence and permanent charity, within the immediate scope of Masonry, and to recommend itself to every Mason, as being calculated to confer immense and lasting benefits on the human race. While it tends to relieve our own country, the chosen soil of freedom, from a stain and nuisance, it prepares a home and happier futurity for those who are its special objects, and gives a brighter promise than any other plan of the ultimate extension to Africa, of the blessings of civilization and the gospel.

In this small offering, we have not been insensible to the influence of the approaching anniversary of our independence; but we have thought, that a suitable acknowledgment to the Author of all good for the liberty he has granted us, would be the endeavour to extend that liberty to others.

With the assurance of our great personal respect, we are, your obedient servants,

R. S. STEWART,

CHARLES C. HARPER,

JOHN H. B. LATROBE,

} Committee of Win-  
der Lodge, No. 77.  
under the jurisdic-  
tion of the Grand  
Lodge of Maryland.

REV. R. R. GURLEY, Resident Agent, A. C. S.

## The African Colony.

[FROM NILES' REGISTER.]

We have a large body of interesting papers and facts relative to this colony, which is rapidly rising into importance, and all shall be published in a regular and connected order, before long, for the public information. It is quite evident now, or at least highly probable, that we may build up a powerful people on the Western coast of that benighted quarter of the world, who shall extend their settlements into the interior, as we ourselves have done, and command the native tribes as we do; and thereby spread light and knowledge, civilization and religion, even along the yet unknown shores of the mysterious Niger, and totally break up at least the external trade in slaves, but without much, if any, sensible effect to decrease our own colored population. However, it will be a great thing to have a spot provided, to which our free blacks may proceed, with an assurance that their industry will be crowned with prosperity and peace, and where their children will have a country and a home. Nor will it be less interesting because of the opportunity which it may continually offer to liberal and humane persons, who would gladly emancipate their slaves, if convinced that their condition would be benefitted. We always approved of this project—for it is indeed a humane one—though we questioned its efficiency to accomplish the grand first purpose proposed; but it is not a little remarkable that some who were enthusiasts in it, and sought the aid of the general government to support it, as an outlet for our free colored population, seem disposed to abandon it as if because of its success, and to have found out that it is *unconstitutional* for the United States to take any part in the proceeding!

The colonists are healthy, and rapidly increasing; the bounds of the colony have been extended, and already the village of Monrovia is a place of considerable trade—many coasting and other vessels arriving and departing; and there is a growing intercourse with the interior. The people are diligent and orderly, and apparently sensible of the blessings that must flow upon those of their own color, as well as on themselves, by the success of the measures now in progress to build up a new nation of enlightened blacks. Education is well attended to, and all persons are taught that they may be useful to themselves and others.

There are two well disciplined companies of militia, and the colony now is, or soon will be, fully able to defend itself against any invasion of the neighbouring tribes—which, at present, however, are peaceable: and the petty kings appear quite pleased with the improvements that are making in their neighborhood. It may, nevertheless, so turn out, that the march of civilization will overcome their barbarous power, and revolutionize the whole policy and polity of their kingdoms and states. It is very possible that, in fifteen or twenty years, the commerce of Liberia will employ a greater amount of American tonnage than is now employed in the trade carried on with all the Northern Powers of Europe, to whom we send ministers and agents, and of whose favor and proceedings we are so jealous, because of that trade.

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## Intelligence.

The most disgraceful traffic in slaves is still prosecuted, it would seem, with the greatest activity. It is asserted that at least sixty thousand Africans have been sold from the coast of Africa during the last year. It is added that the English squadron on the African coast has captured and liberated three thousand six hundred slaves, within the last twelve months.

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KINGSTON, (*Jamaica*) May 1.

*Slave Ship.*—The armed schooner Speedwell went into Port Royal on the 26th of April, and took in with her, the slave brig Alcide, which she detained on the 21st, in lat. 19, 30, long. 79. The Alcide had on board 337 slaves; she is under French colours, and is reported to be from Cape Lopez, and bound to Martinique, but it is strongly suspected that her destination was Cuba.

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Messrs Cummings, Hilliard and Co. are engaged in publishing the very interesting and valuable journal of Denham, Clapperton and Ouderly in Africa, and we hope before many weeks to present our readers with a review of its contents.

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A meeting has lately been held in Liverpool, to petition parliament for the abolition of West Indian slavery. A paper remarks, that similar petitions have been forwarded to parliament, in the present session, from almost every town in the kingdom.

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*British West Indies*—As a proof how little has been hitherto actually effected for the amelioration of colonial bondage, notwithstanding all our zeal

and warm professions, our speeches and petitions our parliamentary resolutions, and official remonstrances, and ministerial pledges, we subjoin the following brief statement of facts on the subject.

Only five of the colonies, out of thirteen, having legislatures of their own, have done any thing whatsoever towards carrying the resolutions of the 15th May, 1823, into effect; and of these five, none have done any thing with respect to religious instruction. One only (Tobago) has abolished Sunday markets. Four only (Tobago, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Dominica) have given a very limited protection, in certain cases, to the property of slaves. Two only (Tobago and Grenada) have lowered the scale of arbitrary punishment by the master. Two only (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have made a mere show of abolishing the driving-whip. Three only (Tobago, Grenada, and St. Vincent's) have admitted the evidence of slaves in a very limited degree. None have given to the slave the power of effecting his manumission by purchase. One only (Bahamas) has legalized marriage, and two (Grenada and St. Vincent's) have permitted it in certain cases. One only (Bahamas) has prohibited the separation of families, either by private or judicial sale; and one only (Grenada) has prohibited it by judicial sale. None have abolished the flogging of females. None have prohibited the sale of slaves detached from the estate. None have established saving-banks. After reading this statement, let any man look carefully at the vain and inefficient, and often contradictory and unjust, provisions by which it is pretended to ensure even the scanty measure of improvement which the most partial advocate of the colonies can venture to assert; and he must feel convinced, that no useful or consistent legislation is to be expected by continuing to pursue the present course. Delay and disappointment can be its only results.—*Christ. Observer.*

On the 19th of May, Mr. Brougham brought forward his long promised motion on the subject of slavery in the West Indies, which was to the following effect:

"That the house had observed with deep regret that nothing had been done by the Assemblies, in compliance with the wishes of lord Bathurst's instructions, and of the wishes of that house, expressed in its resolution of May, 1823, touching the condition of the slaves; and that the house, early in the next session of parliament, will take into its serious consideration the means of carrying the resolution of 1823, into effect."

Mr. Canning, at a late hour, closed the debate, by taking a luminous review of all the arguments which had been urged, and deprecating any departure from that system of conciliation which had hitherto been pursued, unless it should be met by such a spirit of contumacy and resistance by the Colonial Assemblies, as would justify the employment of a more decisive one. The Right Hon. Gentleman repeated his former declarations, that it was the fixed determination of Government to come to parliament for powers to give full effect to its intentions, should the necessity for such a step unfortunately occur. We trust however it will not. The colonists must see and feel that their own interests are closely identified, in this question, with the policy of the parent state, and that whatever may be the supposed or real evils attendant

upon acting in conformity with that policy, those that would result from opposition to it, must be infinitely greater.

Mr. Brougham's motion was lost by a majority of sixty-two.

*Slavery Prohibition in Louisiana.*—At the late session of the Legislature of Louisiana, an act was passed prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into that state for sale. The following is an abstract of the act :

SEC. 1. No person shall, after the first day of June, 1826, bring into this state any slave, with the intent to sell or hire the same, under the penalty of being punished by imprisonment not exceeding two years, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars, and moreover shall forfeit the said slave or slaves.

SEC. 2. That hereafter any person who has a *bona fide* intention to emigrate to this state, with a view to become an inhabitant thereof, shall be allowed to bring with them their slaves, and employ the same within the limits of the state : Provided, that any slaves so brought in by an emigrant shall not be sold or exchanged for the term of two years from the time they were brought into the state, under a penalty of a forfeiture of the slaves so sold.

SEC. 3. Any *bona fide* citizen of this state shall be allowed to bring therein and employ any slaves of which he may be the lawful owner ; provided, that any slaves brought into this state by any citizen thereof, under the provisions of this section, shall not be sold or exchanged until after said slaves have been two years within the state, under the penalty of forfeiting the aforesaid slaves.

SEC. 4. Any slave or slaves brought into this state in contravention of any of the provisions of this act, shall, after due condemnation, by any court of competent jurisdiction, be sold after ten day's notice by the sheriff of the parish in which said slaves have been condemned, and the nett proceeds of said slaves, when sold, shall be paid over, one fourth to the informer or informers, and the other three fourths to the treasurer of the state.

A negro died suddenly on Thursday at the house of correction in Boston. In noticing the coroner's inquest, the Boston Traveller says : " It is very remarkable that this man spoke five languages correctly and fluently ; could repeat Shakspeare from beginning to end, and possessed, beside this, an uncommon fund of drollery. During the greater part of Napoleon's wars, he was a servant to different officers of distinction, where he had an opportunity of acquiring information and perfecting himself in waggishness. Intemperance was probably the cause of his death, resulting in a general disease and disorganization of important organs."

The *yearly meeting of the Society of Friends*, for New-England, was holden last week at Newport, R. I. We understand that *one thousand dollars* was raised, by subscription, to aid in colonizing the slaves who have fallen by inheritance into the hands of members of the Society, in North Carolina, where the manumission of slaves is prohibited unless they are sent out of the state,

It is stated in the Courier, that the British do not intend to abandon Cape Coast Castle.

**AFRICA.** *Lake Tchad.*—The great lake so called, in the interior of Africa, examined by Major Denham and his fellow-travellers, is one of the most remarkable in the world. It is situated in 16 degrees of east longitude, and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  of north latitude; is about 2,000 miles long from east to west, by 150 broad, and occupies nearly the precise position of the swamp or morass of Wangara, in Arrowsmith's map, in which swamp the Joliba or Niger is supposed to terminate. It covers a surface about as large as the two American lakes Erie and Ontario, both together. The Tchad receives a river called the Yeou, about 50 yards broad in the dry season, which has its source about 400 miles distant in the south-west, and which was well ascertained not to be the Niger. Another river, six times as large, with a delta of 50 miles broad at its embouchure, flows into the lake from the south, and is called the Shary, which may be, but most probably is not, the river alluded to. What is rather a puzzling fact in physical geography, this lake, though it has no efflux, is fresh, and yet saline incrustations are found in some parts of the country around, and small salt pools are found close to its northern margin. It was distinctly stated, however, to Major Denham, that formerly a stream flowed out of it on the east side, and carried its waters to the Bahrael Ghazal, which was a lake or a swamp now dried up. The dry bed of this stream still remains filled with trees, and covered with herbage, and the old people still believe that the Tchad is yearly diminishing. The lake Tchad has a number of islands on its eastern side, which are inhabited by the Biddomahs, a race of piratical savages, who come in fleets of a hundred boats, and rob or carry into slavery the people living near its banks. The lake swells greatly when the periodical rains fall, and vast numbers of elephants, lions, and hyenas, driven from their retreats on its banks by the waters, destroy the small crops of the villagers, and carry off the cattle or the women who are sent to watch the fields. Sometimes these animals attack the villages.

There have been printed, by order of parliament, details to the expenditure of 121,681*l.* "for articles for liberated Africans, and presents to Moorish chiefs." The items are curious—showing at once the character of very partially civilized wants, and the estimation in which certain European or British goods are held. Thus there were supplied, 15,000 yards of check, for shirts for males; 8,000 yards blue or gray cloth, for males; 5,000 pairs braces; 800 pick axes; 2,000 bill hooks; 2,000 gimlets; many carpenters' saws; 1,000 tailors' and girls' thimbles; 100 bodkins; 300*lbs.* white thread; 50,000 needles, and numerous spoons, masons' chisels, shoemakers' tools, nails, tape, hats, 20,000*lbs.* soap, &c.—*Niles' Register.*

**SOUTHERN AFRICA.** Although the following letter is not of recent date, yet, as containing in a very few lines the substance of Mr. Campbell's discoveries, in his last journey beyond the British frontier in Southern Africa, we have thought it deserving of insertion:—"Mr. Campbell and I have had a long route up the country; about 300 miles north-east of Lattakoo; we passed two tribes, and arrived among the people called Marootses, about 16,000 strong living upon a high mountain, having stone walls round their houses and for



their cattle. They melt their own iron and copper from the ore. The rivers run eastwardly from this place; most of the people are inoculated for the small pox, an art they got from a people on the north-west; their language is the same as that at Lattakoo. I am of a decided opinion that poor Dr. Cowen and party were not murdered by the Wanketyen; but, if murdered, they must have been murdered nearer Mozambique: the natives insist that they are still alive."—*Ibid.*

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#### MUNGO PARK.

A curious document agreeing very accurately with the accounts contained in the Arabic MSS. obtained in other parts of Africa, and with the narrative given by the intelligent negro, the brother of Park's guide, is found in the journal of Denham and Clapperton:

*A document relating to the death of Mungo Park.*

"Hence be it known, that some christians came to the town of Youri, in the kingdom of Yaoor and landed, and purchased provisions, as onions, and other things; and they sent a present to the king of Yaoor. The said king desired them to wait until he should send them a messenger, but they were frightened, and went away by the sea (river.) They arrived at the town called Bosso, or Boossa, and their ship then rubbed (struck) upon a rock, and all of them perished in the river.

This fact is within our knowledge, and peace be the end.

It is genuine from Mohammed bar Dehmann."

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### Beautiful Simplicity of Manners in Africa.

"The country beyond Katagum began to change its character, rising into ridges of hills running east and west, their summits covered with trees, and their sides and the valleys well peopled and cultivated, while numerous herds of cattle were grazing on the plains. Crowds of people were passing on the road on their return from the Kano market, some carrying their goods on their heads, some on bullocks, and others on asses. As our traveller advanced, the hills became broken, and large detached blocks of stone 'gave a romantic appearance to the neat huts clustering round the base, and to the fine plantations of cotton, tobacco, and indigo, which are separated from one another by rows of date trees, and are shaded by other large, umbrageous trees, of whose names I am ignorant.' He passed several walled towns, some of them deserted, the inhabitants having been carried off at the Fe-

latah conquest; the country however still highly cultivated, and towns and villages numerous. 'The Felatah women sat spinning cotton by the road side, offering for sale to the passing caravans, gussub water, roast meat, sweet potatoes, cashew nuts, &c.:' and he adds, 'from time to time they surveyed themselves, with whimsical complacency, in a little pocket mirror.' Clapperton speaks highly in praise of these females. In his illness they attended him with as much kindness and care as if they had been his near relations. Nor was he in return ungrateful, or insensible to their charms. An attack of the ague had obliged him to halt and to rest all day under the shade of a tree:—

'A pretty Felatah girl, going to market with milk and butter, neat and spruce in her attire as a Cheshire dairy-maid, here accosted me with infinite archness and grace. She said I was of her own nation; and, after much amusing small talk, I pressed her, in jest, to accompany me on my journey, while she parried my solicitations with roguish glee, by referring me to her father and mother. I don't know how it happened, but her presence seemed to dispel the effects of the ague. To this trifling and innocent memorial of a face and form, seen that day for the first and last time, but which I shall not readily forget, I may add the more interesting information to the good housewives of my own country, that the making of butter such as ours is confined to the nation of the Felatahs, and that it is both clean and excellent. So much is this domestic art cultivated, that from an useful prejudice or superstition, it is deemed unlucky to sell new-milk; it may, however, be bestowed as a gift. Butter is also made in other parts of central Africa, but sold in an oily fluid state something like honey.'

The weather clear and fine: we rode to day through little valleys, delightfully green, lying between high ridges of granite; and, to add to the beauty of the scenery, there were many clear springs, issuing out of the rocks, where young women were employed drawing water. I asked several times for a gourd of water, by way of excuse to enter into conversation with them. Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented it to me on horseback, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility: remarking to one another, "did you hear the white man thank me?"

## Manumissions.

SAMPSON DAVID, Esq. a member of the legislature of Tennessee, who died in Jacksonboro' a few weeks ago, has provided in his will, that all his negroes, 22 in number, which are mostly young, should be manumitted in the year 1840, or at his wife's death, should that happen sooner; and has made ample provision for their removal to a foreign colony, or to a free state, at their own option.—*Niles' Reg.*

Mr. HERBERT B. ELDER, who lately died in Petersburg, Va. has left 20 slaves to be transported as freemen, by the first opportunity, to the Colony in Liberia.

It is with great pleasure we add, that Mr. HENRY ROBERTSON, late of Hampton, Va. has left seven slaves free, with a legacy of fifty dollars for each, to aid their removal and comfortable settlement in Africa. These are gratifying indications of an increasing disposition to afford to those now excluded from the benefits of our Institution, a share in the blessings of African Colonization.

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## Society for the education of African youth.

On the third Monday in April last, a meeting of the friends to African education was held in Newark, New-Jersey, where a very respectable number both of the clergy and laity of the state, expressed a deep interest in the object for which they were convened. An association was organized, (the name of which is at the head of this notice,) a constitution adopted, and seven trustees elected for the management of its concerns. The trustees will meet again on the 1st Monday in August, to adopt further measures for the accomplishment of their design. We indulge great hopes that the Kusciusko fund, may be applied in some way, to advance the noble purposes of this Institution, and should this be the case, no doubt is entertained, that the public charities will soon establish it on a broad and durable foundation. A few liberal donations from the opulent of our country, added to the generous bequest of Gen. Kusciusko, would build up a seminary of immense utility to Africa and the world. May a plan so well commenced, not fail of a completion.

**To the friends of our cause.**

It will not be forgotten, we hope, that the season most favorable for emigration to Liberia is near; that a sufficient number of persons are disposed to embark; that the settlement is in want of sundry articles, particularly of books for the schools, and that if any expedition is to sail from our shores the present year, the means for its outfit should be furnished before the middle of September. Of the success which attended the effort of the churches on the fourth of July, and on the Sabbaths next to that day, we are as yet but little informed. In Light street church, Baltimore, after a discourse by the Rev. Mr. Bascom, a collection was taken up amounting to one hundred and eighty-four dollars, and in Park street church, Boston, after an address by the Rev. Mr. Knowles, one hundred and nineteen dollars were contributed. We are persuaded, however, that the vigorous aid of the auxiliary societies will be required, to accomplish the purpose of sending an expedition to Liberia, in the approaching autumn. We trust the Officers of these institutions will feel the importance of remitting their annual donations to our Treasurer, Richard Smith, Esq. as soon as practicable.

Such fourth of July collections as may be received, with other recent donations, will be published in our next number.

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**Poetry.**

*On reading the biography of the Rev. Samuel J. Mills.*

Oh Africk! raise thy voice and weep  
 For him who sought to heal thy woe,  
 Whose bones beneath the briny deep  
 Bleach where the pearl and coral glow.

Unfetter'd by the wiles of earth,  
 And girded for the race of heaven,  
 Even from his dedicated birth  
 To God and thee his soul was given.

In hermit cells of prayerful thought,  
 In meditation's holy sphere,  
 He nursed that sacred flame which sought  
 The darkness of a world to cheer.

Our western wilds where outcasts roam,  
 Sad India's vales with blood defac'd,  
 Blest Obookiah's sea-girt home  
 The ardour of his zeal embrac'd.

But thou, indebted clime, that drew  
 Through torrid seas his stranger sail,  
 Whose tall cliffs heard his fond adieu,  
 Pour forth the wildest, bitterest wail,

L. H. S.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

AUGUST, 1826.

[NO. VI.

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REVIEW OF THE  
**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 152.)

Mr. SHARP ever entertained profound veneration for the doctrines and Liturgy of the Church of England. In a note appended to his tract entitled "The Law of Retribution," printed in 1776, he maintained the right of the clergy and people of every diocese, to elect their own bishops, alleged in proof of it, the practice of the church for five hundred years after its commencement, and concluded by a few remarks on the importance of Episcopacy, styling it in the emphatic language of the English common law, the strength of the republic, (*ordo Episcoporum est robur republicei.*)

The powerful influence of this publication not only upon churchmen, but also upon dissenters in America, led Mr. Sharp subsequently to consider the establishment of Episcopacy in this country, as one of the remarkable effects produced by the exertions of the Quakers and himself against slavery, though neither had the least idea of any such consequence arising from their united labours.

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The sentiments excited by the tract to which we have alluded, were confirmed and rendered active by two of a later date, the one "On Congregational Courts," and the other, on "The Election of Bishops." But we pass the record of Mr. Sharp's proceedings in reference to this subject, and proceed to the history of his efforts for purposes of more unequivocal and general philanthropy.

It is not surprising that the aid of one, so emphatically the friend of mankind, should have been frequently sought. The chief justice of Canada enclosed to him a letter for the primate of England, praying for a grant of lands and buildings for a Protestant college at Montreal; and a clergyman in Vermont, solicited him to make exertions to establish Episcopacy in that state.

With his usual sagacity, Mr. Sharp looked far into the future prospects of America, and rejoiced in every indication of the growth of knowledge and virtue in a Continent, which seemed to him destined to rival and even surpass in glory, all the kingdoms of the European world. Among his papers were found the following stanzas, from the pen of Dr. Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, "On the prospect of planting arts and learning in America." The sentiment they contain is now seen to have been prophetic: and we insert the poem for the gratification of our readers:

"The muse, disgusted at an age and clime  
Barren of every glorious theme,  
In distant lands now waits a better time,  
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun  
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,  
The force of art by nature seems outdone,  
And fancied beauties by the true:

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,  
Where nature guides and virtue rules,  
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense,  
The pedantry of courts and schools:

There shall be sung another golden age,  
The rise of empire and of arts,  
The good and great inspiring epic rage,  
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay;  
Such as she bred when fresh and young,

When heavenly flame did animate her clay,  
By future Poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes her way,  
The four first acts already past ;  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,  
Time's noblest offspring is the last."

In 1783, Mr. Sharp's sensibilities were again awakened in behalf of the poor Africans by private information, that one hundred and thirty slaves had been atrociously murdered, by the master of the ship *Zong*, in November, 1781. This vessel had left the coast of Africa in the preceding September, for Jamaica, having on board four hundred and forty slaves and fourteen whites. The voyage having been prolonged, as was alleged, in consequence of the captain's having mistaken Jamaica for Hispaniola, and the crowded state of the ship having produced a great mortality, and the water being scarce, it was proposed by the said captain, that the slaves who were most reduced by disease, should be thrown into the sea: for if this were done with a sufficient plea of necessity, the loss it was said, would fall on the underwriters, otherwise it must be sustained by the owners. To extinguish life thus suddenly, was also represented as less cruel, than to suffer the sick to linger out a wretched existence. This horrible measure, though at first opposed by the mate, was finally carried into execution.

The particulars of this enormous crime, were brought to light during the pecuniary controversy between the owners and underwriters: and on the first trial, surprising as it may appear, the verdict of the jury was in favour of the owners. A new trial being granted, Mr. Sharp was present. It was contended by the solicitor general, (Lee,) for the owners, that the only question was, whether the deed was voluntary, or of necessity. "This is a case of *goods or chattels*. For the purpose of insurance, they are *goods and property*. The real question is, whether or not they were thrown overboard for the preservation of the rest." Observing Mr. Sharp, he violently exclaimed to the judges, that a person was in court who intended to bring on a criminal prosecution for murder against the parties concerned. But, said he, it would be *madness*. On the other side, it was contended by Messrs. Davenport, Pigot, and Heywood, that there existed no such necessity as was inevitable, and that no exigency (since the

life of one man was like the life of another) would justify the deed. Lord Mansfield, while he pronounced the case *a very shocking one*, seems to have adopted the opinion of the solicitor general, and Mr. Sharp failed of bringing punishment on the perpetrators of this horrid tragedy. But his virtuous indignation did not sleep. He gave a detailed and very impressive account of the whole affair, in a letter to the lords of the admiralty, and inclosed this letter in the following, to his grace the duke of Portland:

"OLD JEWRY, July 18, 1783.

"MY LORD :

"In the year 1772, when lord North was his majesty's first minister, I stated in a letter to his lordship, some unquestionable proofs of the necessity of abolishing the slave-trade. Since that time, the much greater part of our colonial dominions have been severed from the British empire: but the most enormous of all our national iniquities, the slave-trade, is still established in the small remains of our colonial possessions. As a proof of the extreme depravity which the slave-trade introduces amongst those that become inured to it, I have enclosed the copy of a letter which was sent to the lords of the admiralty in the beginning of the present month, with an account of the murder of one hundred and thirty-two negro slaves, on board the ship *Zong*, or *Zung*, a Liverpool trader. The original vouchers are now at the admiralty, and I have not yet received any answer respecting them. The punishment of that murder, belongs properly to the admiralty department, and therefore I do not apply to your grace on that account; but only wish, by the horrible example related in the enclosed papers, to warn your grace, that there is an absolute necessity to abolish the slave-trade and West India slavery; and that "to be in power, and to neglect, as life is very uncertain, (and I may add, the tenure of office,) *even a day*, in endeavouring to put a stop to such monstrous injustice and abandoned wickedness, must necessarily endanger a man's eternal welfare, be he ever so great in temporal dignity or office." This was my warning to lord North eleven years ago."

But though the immediate object proposed by Mr. Sharp was not accomplished, yet the cause of freedom gained perhaps no less from his defeat, than it would have done from his victory:

"The deduction that was to be formed from the scene that had passed, was too obvious not to suggest itself even to the dullest observer. A high court of English judicature had heard one of the great organs of the law avow the case, in which he asserted, "*that so far from the guilt of any thing like a murderous act*, in casting one hundred and thirty-two living and unoffending human creatures into the sea, to perish there, *so far from any show or suggestion of cruelty*, there was not even a surmise of impropriety in the transaction; and that *to bring a charge of murder* against those who had acted this part of uncontrolled power, into an English court of law, would *argue nothing less than madness* in him who brought it thither. To what could this



stigma on the juridical code of England be ascribed? Not surely to the natural feelings in the heart of the great lawyer who pronounced it. That would be to impute to him an obduracy, an insensibility to human emotions, too gross to have found its way to so honoured and elevated a situation. The reverse was evident. He declared, as his great professional learning instructed him, the actual condition of the *law* in *England*, relative to the question before him, and asserted that it authorized the statement he had made; namely, that there existed the case, in which there was no legal impropriety in deliberately casting our unoffending and defenceless fellow-creatures into the sea, fettered and prevented from all hopes of succour. Where was the heart so hard, or the head so inaccessible that did not instantly take part against such a state of things, in a country, of which the enlightened laws and impartial justice, were acknowledged as the boasts of human wisdom, and the patterns of human freedom?"

This view of the case, was eagerly seized by the sagacity of Mr. Sharp. Besides the letter to the lords of the admiralty, he employed every means in his power, to give the utmost publicity to the circumstances that had happened, and the arguments that had been employed. He sent an account of the whole transaction to the newspapers; he handed about a copy of the minutes (which he had procured in short hand) of the trial, and of the speeches on both sides. He was also unwearied in diffusing his powerful and unanswerable remarks on the flagrant enormity of the case, which had been so strenuously vindicated. And perhaps the cause of African freedom may thus reckon among the most effective instruments of its support, the masterly and successful arguments of the solicitor general, in the barbarian triumph upheld on that occasion, over reason and human feelings, as well as over the otherwise enlightened policy of England.

The deep impression made upon the public mind, by the disinterested efforts and able writings of the subject of these memoirs, on this occasion, is evident from two affecting letters received by him, from the bishops of Peterborough and Chester, both of whom expressed their unqualified approbation of his proceedings, and their sympathising concern for his entire success. The latter of these, Dr. Porteus, (afterwards bishop of London) advocated the cause of the natives of Africa, in a sermon delivered before the society for the propagation of the Gospel; and ever continued to evince a solicitude for the abolition of the slave-trade, worthy of his own character and the importance of the object.

The influence which Mr. Sharp had acquired by the excellence of his life, is well illustrated by the following anecdote: A native

of Otaheite had been enticed on board of an English vessel, and brought to England. "Being an expert swimmer and diver, his skill had been very profitably employed during the voyage, in the capture of seals, of which he had succeeded in killing a great number." The master of the vessel refused to pay him for his services, and the owners declared, that they would spend £ 500 rather than allow him a farthing. Information of this having reached Mr. Sharp, he called on a friend of the poor stranger, stated to him the course he should pursue, and observed, if any subscription became necessary, that his name might be set down at the head of the list for two guineas. No sooner, however, were the merchants informed that Mr. Sharp's sanction had been obtained for proceeding against them, than they proposed a settlement by arbitration, and the Otaheitan was adjudged, by the person selected by themselves, the compensation solicited; which was that of an ordinary seaman, amounting in all to about £ 30." "Of such value," says Mr. Hoare, "was the *nominis umbra*."

The intense and vigilant concern felt by Mr. Sharp, in the great event of the American revolution, traceable, as it unquestionably was, to his sacred regard to the rights and interests of humanity, prompted him, after the Declaration of Independence, anxiously to watch the progress of our infant nation, and to contribute, as far as possible, to literary and religious improvement. Hence, he sent presents of books to most of the colleges and public libraries, and indeed to all the principal places in our country. It was probably some donation of this kind, which called forth the following acknowledgment from the acting officers of the African church in Philadelphia:

"Philadelphia, November 25, 1782.

"WORTHY AND RESPECTED SIR:

"We want words to express our gratitude to you, for all your labours of love to our afflicted nation. You were our advocate when we had but few friends on the other side of the water. We request of you to accept of our thanks, for all your kind and benevolent exertions in behalf of the people of our colour, and in particular, for your late humane donation to our church.

Our prayers shall not cease to ascend to the Father of all mercies, and God of all grace, for your health and happiness in this world, and for your eternal happiness in the world to come."

Mr. Hoare observes, "Besides the valuable presents of books, to the American libraries, he extended his views to various regulations, which he conceived might be most useful to an advancing state, and he communicated them to the leading statesmen of that continent.

The following extracts from letters addressed to him about this time, by several of our eminent countrymen, will show the high place which he held in their estimation:

DR. FRANKLIN TO GRANVILLE SHARP.

*"Passy, July 5, 1785.*

"DEAR SIR:

"I received the books you were so kind as to send; please to accept my hearty thanks. Your writings, which always have some public good for their object, I always read with pleasure. I am perfectly of your opinion with respect to the salutary law of Gavelkind, and hope it may in time be established throughout America. In six of the states already, the lands of intestates are divided equally among the children, if all girls; but there is a double share to the eldest daughter; I think there should be no distinction.

I am departing for America, where I shall be glad occasionally to hear from you, and of your welfare, being, with sincere and great esteem, &c. &c.

B. FRANKLIN."

HIS EXCELLENCY J. ADAMS TO MR. G. SHARP.

*"Grosvenor Square, March 8, 1786.*

"SIR:

"You have merited the respect and esteem of all men, among whom liberty and humanity are not disregarded, by your writings. The idea that captives in war are slaves, is the foundation of the misfortunes of the negroes. This principle is honoured and admitted by all the powers of Europe, who pay tribute to the states of Barbary. I expect that one part of Africa will avenge upon my fellow-citizens, the injury they do to another, by purchasing their captives. Yet, I presume, we shall be compelled to follow the base example of submission, and pay tributes or make presents, like the rest of christians, to Musselmén. I wish you would take up this African system, and expose it altogether. Never, never will the slave-trade be abolished, while christian princes abase themselves before the piratical ensigns of Mahomet.

With great esteem, &c.

JOHN ADAMS."

DR. FRANKLIN TO GRANVILLE SHARP.

*"Philadelphia, June 9, 1787.*

"SIR:

"The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, have taken the liberty to request your acceptance of a few copies of their constitution, and the laws of Pennsylvania, which relate to one of the objects of their institution.

From a most grateful sense of the zeal and abilities with which you have long and successfully defended the claims of the oppressed Africans, the society have done themselves the honour of enrolling your name in the number of their corresponding members; and they earnestly request the continuance of your labours in the great object of their institution; for in this business, the friends to humanity in every country, are of one nation and religion.

I am, in behalf of the society, &c.

B. FRANKLIN."

## HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN JAY TO GRANVILLE SHARP.

"New-York, September 1, 1788.

"SIR:

"The society established in this city, for promoting the manumission of slaves, &c. did, at their last meeting admit you an honorary member of it. And I have now the pleasure of transmitting to you, herewith enclosed, a certified extract from the minutes, on the subject. Be pleased, sir, to consider this as a mark of the esteem and respect with which your exertions in the cause of humanity have inspired them; and permit me to assure you, that with similar sentiments, I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

JOHN JAY, *President.*"

Not only individuals and humane societies in America, but literary institutions also rendered to Mr. Sharp their public testimonials of respect. The universities of Providence, Rhode Island, of Cambridge, Mass. and Williamsburg, Virginia, severally admitted him to the degree of *Doctor of Laws*. The presidents of these institutions announced the honours to which he was judged entitled, in terms most expressive of a deep sense of his worth, and of the highest personal esteem.

Thus have we seen an obscure individual, undistinguished by the gifts of fortune, rising to a height of respectability and usefulness, far above the nobles and princes of his age; and while attracting by his virtues the admiration of the world, wearing meekly and humbly as a child, its honours. Among the excellencies which elevated him to so lofty an eminence, we have mentioned his CONSCIENTIOUSNESS and INDUSTRY, and we may add to these, his DECISION and INTREPIDITY. With a heart compassionate and tender as ever beat in a human bosom, his principles were firm as the rock, on which they rested; and in their defence, he was bold as a lion. His penetrating intellect, discerned through all the errors and sophistry by which they were incumbered, the foundations of human duty, and clearing away false principles, sought to bring back society to those simple moral truths, which alone constitute the safe and durable basis of social and political institutions. The light by which he investigated all the relations and duties of private and civil life, was the Revelation of God. His DECISION resulted from his entire submission to the Divine Word. His INTREPIDITY was but the manifested sentiment of the ancient martyrs, "We ought to obey God rather than man."

(To be continued.)

## **Memoir of the Sufferings, &c. of the American Colonists.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 152.)

The Agent, as soon as the force of his disease had so far subsided as to enable him to look abroad, discovered with great satisfaction, that the people had plied their labours with so much diligence, as to produce a wide opening on the whole of the southern quarter of the settlement. The branching tops of the fallen trees formed so perfect an obstruction to the passage of human beings, as nearly to assure the safety of the settlement against an attack from that side. But the want of system in carrying on the diversified services devolving on the people, of whom several were nearly overpowered by an incessant routine of nightly watching and daily labour, had still left the other preparation too little advanced to authorize an opinion of the safety of the place, for an hour. The carpenters, who alone were able to direct or assist in the construction of the gun-carriages, had, for the encouragement and direction of the labourers, given up too much of their time to the common fatigues of the field. The western station, which in the present state of the defence, was obviously the most exposed, not only remained entirely uncovered, but the long revolving nine pounder, which was to constitute its chief strength, was still unmounted.

But the Agent could not walk at this date without support; and with a mind shattered by the strokes of a malady believed to be mortal, could neither decide upon nor enforce, any arrangement which should much accelerate their most essential preparations. But, from this period, his febrile paroxysms were daily less subduing and protracted—and by a recurrence to the journal, it appears, that he was able on the 7th of November, to recommence the daily entries, and thereafter take a daily increasing share in the operations of the people.

It is here proper to return to a period already considerably passed in the foregoing narrative, in order to take a connected view of the movements of the natives; who, without formally denouncing war, had been constantly busied in hostile machinations; which at this date were so far matured, as to want nothing but a proper opportunity of being carried into effect.

It has been seen that out of the dread of provoking Boatswain's resentment, they had reluctantly assumed a show of friendship. But this disguise of the true state of their intentions, was too slight to conceal them from the most superficial observer. Unhappily, the chiefs had attributed the abrupt departure of the Agents to a want of spirit, and a dread of their power: and were naturally stimulated by the absence of so important and formidable a means of defence as was afforded by the too schooners, to make the most of the circumstance, and directly attack the settlement; hoping, if successful, to be able either to bribe, or resist the indignation of king Boatswain.

The arrival of the "Strong," in August, delayed for a while the execution of their purpose. But no sooner had that vessel sailed, about the first of October, than secret meetings for discussing the question of renewing hostilities were again holden. The Agent had arranged a plan for obtaining intelligence, which left him ignorant of none of their movements—and by the singular fidelity and diligence of an individual who has never yet been properly compensated, and whose name it is necessary to conceal, was perfectly informed of the temper and stand of every influential head-man in the country, and often furnished with the very arguments used by them in their debates.

At this time a diversity of views were entertained by the different members of their war-council. It was contended by kings Peter and Bristol, that "The increased numbers of the Colonists, gave them a superiority which would insure their success—that they were not a settlement of foreigners and enemies, but of their countrymen and friends, as was proved by the identity of their colour, and therefore had a right to reside in their country, and might be expected to turn all the civilization which they had learnt abroad, to the improvement of their common country."

Kings George, Governor, and all the other head men of the tribe, contended that "The Americans were strangers who had forgot their attachment to the land of their fathers; for if not, why had they not renounced their connexion with white men altogether, and placed themselves under the protection of the kings of the country? King George had already been under the necessity of removing from his town, and leaving the Cape in their hands. This was but the first step of their encroachments. If left alone, they must, in a very few years, master the whole country.) And

as all other places were full, their own tribe must be without a home, and cease any longer to remain a nation. The armed schooners were gone;—the two first Agents had fled also;—the new people could from sickness very little assist the old in the defence of the place; and had brought with them a valuable cargo of stores, which would enrich the conquerors. The White Man was sick; no doubt would die; and the rest were not much superior to an equal number of themselves, and could be easily overcome, either by sudden surprise, or by a wasting and harrassing blockade.”

King Peter presuming still to dissent from the general voice of his chiefs, was principally thro’ the influence of George, obliged to shut his mouth, during all the following deliberations of the assembly. King Bristol returned home.

Messengers were then despatched in every direction, to solicit the aid of the neighbour tribes. The king of Junk refused to take any active part in person, and sent to assure the colony of his neutrality; but did not prohibit his people from following, individually, their own inclinations. A number came to the war.

King Tom of Little Bassä, entirely declined. King Ben of Half C. Mount, and his people came into the conspiracy. Bristol was himself inactive, but many of his people joined the hostile party.

Bä Caiä whose island is overlooked by the settlement, was too much agitated by his fears, to resolve on any decided course. He tarried at home, of course; but many of his people gave themselves to the war.

Bromley, Todo, Governor, Konko, Jimmy, Gray, Long Peter, George and Willy with their entire force, and all king Peter’s warriors, and the auxiliaries already named, were in the last week of October, perfectly combined, and assembled under arms on Bushrod Island, about four miles from the settlement, and on the St. Paul.

Throughout their consultation, they had refused to receive any proposals of a papific nature from the Colony. At length the Agent contrived, through the mediation of Bä Caiä, to say to them, that “He was perfectly apprised of their hostile deliberations, notwithstanding their pains to conceal them; and that, if they proceeded to bring war upon the Americans, without even asking to settle their differences in a friendly manner, they would dearly

learn what it was to fight white men.”\* To this message no reply was made.

The activity and masculine eloquence of the indefatigable George, were successfully exerted in generally engaging the fighting people near the theatre of the war. Every day produced a sensible augmentation of their numbers on Bushrod Island.

On the 7th of November, intelligence was received at the Cape that the last measures had been taken preparatory to an assault on the settlement, which was ordered within four days. The plan of attack being left to the head warriors, whose trade it is to concert and conduct it, was not to be learnt.

The Agent was able, with assistance, to inspect the works, and review the little force the same evening. He stated to the people the purport of the intelligence just received; that ‘war was now inevitable; and the preservation of their property, their settlement, their families, and their lives, depended under God, wholly upon their own firmness and good conduct; that a most important point in the defence of the place, was to secure a perfect uniformity of action, which should assure to every post and individual the firm support of every other. To this end, they must as punctiliously obey their officers as if their whole duty were centered, as it probably was, in that one point; and every man as faithfully exert himself, as if the whole defence depended on his single efforts. A coward, it was hoped, did not disgrace their ranks; and as the cause was emphatically that of God and their country, they might confidently expect his blessing and success to attend the faithful discharge of their duty.’—Every thing was then disposed in order of action, and the men marched to their posts. They lay on their arms, with matches lighted, through the night.

On the 8th, the Agent, by an effort which entirely exhausted his strength, proceeded to examine the obstruction thrown in the way of the avenues to the settlement; and perceived to his extreme mortification, that the west quarter was still capable of being approached by a narrow path-way, without difficulty; and that the utmost exertions of the workmen had accomplished only the mounting of the revolving nine pounder at the post; by which the path was enfiladed; but that the platform was still left entirely exposed. The eastern quarter was about equally open to the ap-

\* A phrase by which civilized people of all colours and nations are distinguished in the dialect of the coast.



proach of the enemy, but the station was protected by a stockade, and a steep ledge of rocks made the access difficult.

Picket guards of four men each were detailed, to be posted 100 yards in advance of each of the stations, through the night. No man was allowed to sleep before the following day, at sun-rise; and patrols of native Africans were dispersed thro' the woods in every direction. An order was given to families occupying the most exposed houses, to sleep in such as were more centrally situated.\*

Throughout the 9th, the order established on the preceding day continued; and some progress made in the labour of falling trees, and otherwise obstructing every practicable access to the settlement.

Sunday, November 10th. The morning was devoted, as usual, to the refreshment of the settlers, none of whom had slept for the 24 hours preceding. At 1 P. M. all were remanded to their fatigue and other duties, till sun-set; when the order appointed for the preceding night was resumed. The women and children attended divine service.

Intelligence had reached the Agent early in the day, that the hostile forces had made a movement, and were crossing the Montserado river a few miles above the settlement; but the patrols made no discovery through the day.—At sun-set, however, the enemy again put themselves in motion, and at an early hour of the night, had assembled, as was afterwards learnt, to the number of six to nine hundred men. on the peninsula, where, at the distance of less than half a mile to the westward of the settlement, they encamped till near morning. Their camp, afterwards examined, extended half a mile in length, and induces a strong probability that the number of warriors assembled on this occasion, has been altogether underrated.†

The most wakeful vigilance on the part of the settlers, was kept up through the night.—But, with a fatality which was quite of a

\* In the multitude of cares devolving on the Agent, who dictated most of his instructions from his bed, the measures necessary to secure the proper observance of this order were unhappily omitted; and the rashness of the misguided individuals who disobeyed it, met with a signal punishment.

† The number given above, is deduced from the discordant accounts given by the kings of the country, after the termination of hostilities; some of whom rated it much higher; but all were ignorant of the true number, and all were interested to state it as low as would obtain credit.

piece, with all the hindrances that had impeded the progress of the defences on the western quarter, the picket-guard in advance of that post, ventured on a violation of their orders, by leaving their station, at the first dawn of day; at which it was their duty to remain till sun-rise. The native force was already in motion, and followed directly in the rear of the picket-guard. The latter had just rejoined their gun, about which ten men were now assembled; when the enemy suddenly presenting a front of ten yards in width, at sixty distant, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with their spears to seize the post. Several men were killed and disabled by the first fire, and the remainder driven from their gun without discharging it. Then, retiring upon the centre, (see the arrangement of the guns, p. 150) threw the reserve there stationed, into momentary confusion; and had the enemy at this instant, pressed their advantage, it is hardly conceivable that they should have failed of entire success. Their avidity for plunder was their defeat. Four houses in that outskirt of the settlement, had fallen into their hands. Every man on whose savage rapacity so resistless a temptation happened to operate, rushed impetuously upon the pillage thus thrown in his way. The movement of the main body was disordered and impeded; and an opportunity afforded the Agent, assisted principally by the Rev. Lot Cary, to rally the broken force of the settlers. The two central guns, with a part of their own men, and several who had been driven from the western station, were, with a little exertion, brought back into action, and formed in the line of two slight buildings, thirty yards in advance of the enemy.

The second discharge of a brass field-piece, double-shotted with ball and grape, brought the whole body of the enemy to a stand. That gun was well served, and appeared to do great execution. The havoc would have been greater, had not the fire, from motives of humanity, been so directed as to clear the dwellings about which the enemy's force was gathered in heavy masses. These houses were known at that moment to contain more than twelve helpless women and children.

The eastern and southern posts, were, from their situation, precluded from rendering any active assistance on the occasion; but the officers and men attached to them, deserve the highest praise, of doing their duty by maintaining their stations, and thus pro-

tecting the flank and rear of the few whose lot it was to be brought to action.

A few musketeers with E. Johnson at their head, by passing round upon the enemy's flank, served to increase the consternation which was beginning to pervade their unwieldy body. In about twenty minutes after the settlers had taken their stand, the front of the enemy began to recoil. But from the numerous obstructions in their rear, the entire absence of discipline, and the extreme difficulty of giving a reversed motion to so large a body, a small part only of which was directly exposed to danger, and the delay occasioned by the practice of carrying off all their dead and wounded, rendered a retreat for some minutes longer, impossible. The very violence employed by those in the front, in their impatience to hasten it, by increasing the confusion, produced an effect opposite to that intended. The Americans perceiving their advantage, now regained possession of the western post, and instantly brought the long nine to rake the whole line of the enemy. Imagination can scarcely figure to itself a throng of human beings in a more capital state of exposure to the destructive power of the machinery of modern warfare! Eight hundred men were here pressed shoulder to shoulder, in so compact a form that a child might easily walk upon their heads from one end of the mass to the other, presenting in their rear a breadth of rank equal to twenty or thirty men, and all exposed to a gun of great power, raised on a platform, at only thirty to sixty yards distance! Every shot literally spent its force in a solid mass of living human flesh! Their fire suddenly terminated. A savage yell was raised, which filled the dismal forest with a momentary horror. It gradually died away; and the whole host disappeared. At 8 o'clock the well known signal of their dispersion and return to their homes, was sounded, and many small parties seen at a distance, directly afterwards, moving off in different directions. One large canoe, employed in reconveying a party across the mouth of the Montserado, venturing within the range of the long gun, was struck by a shot, and several men killed.

On the part of the settlers, it was soon discovered that considerable injury had been sustained.

One woman\* who had imprudently passed the night in the house

\* Mrs. Ann Hawkins; who after long and incredible sufferings recovered, and is yet living.

first beset by the enemy, had received 13 wounds, and been thrown aside as dead. Another,\* flying from her house with her two infant children, received a wound in the head, from a cutlass, and was robbed of both her babes; but providentially escaped. A young married woman,† with the mother of five small children, finding the house in which they slept surrounded by savage enemies, barricadoed the door, in the vain hope of safety. It was forced. Each of the women then seizing an axe, held the irresolute barbarians in check for several minutes longer. Having discharged their guns, they seemed desirous of gaining the shelter of the house previous to reloading. At length, with the aid of their spears, and by means of a general rush, they overcame their heroine adversaries, and instantly stabbed the youngest to the heart. The mother, instinctively springing for her suckling babe, which recoiled through fright, and was left behind, rushed thro' a small window on the opposite side of the house, and providentially escaped to the lines, unhurt, between two heavy fires.

The Agent had caused a return‡ to be made at 9 o'clock, which certainly exhibited a melancholy statement of the loss sustained by the little company. But it was animating to perceive that none—not even the wounded in their severest sufferings, were dispirited, or insensible of the signal Providence to which they owed the successful issue of their struggle.

It never has been possible to ascertain the number of the enemy killed or disabled on this occasion. The only entry made on the subject in the Colonial Journal, is dated November 15th; and

\* Mrs. Minty Draper.

† Mary Tines.

‡ The following is an abstract of this return:—

Joseph Benson, shot dead in the beginning of the action;

Mary Tines, stabbed to death in her house;

Thomas Spinn, mortally injured by 5 wounds;

Billy, a native African, mortally wounded;

Ann Hawkins, desperately injured by 13 wounds;

Daniel Hawkins, severely do. through the thigh;

James Benson, very severely do. through the shoulder;

Minty Draper, slightly do. in the face and ear;

2 small children of Minty Draper, missing;

5 do. do. (oldest 13 years) of James Benson, do.

15 Whole number of sufferers.

All the moveable effects of five families had fallen into the enemy's hands

states, "The following circumstances prove the carnage to have been, for the number engaged, great. A large canoe, from which the dead and wounded could be seen to be taken, on its arriving at the opposite side of the Montserado, and which might easily carry twelve men, was employed upwards of two hours in ferrying them over. In this time, not less than ten to twelve trips must have been made. It is also known, that many of the wounded were conveyed away along the south beach, on mats: and that the dead left of necessity in the woods, where many fell, are carried off by their friends every night. But two days ago, twenty-seven bodies were discovered by a party of friendly Condoes employed by the Agent for the purpose. On entering the wood, the offensive effluvia from putrid bodies, is at this time intolerable."

The numerical force of the settlers amounted to 35 persons, including 6 native youths not 16 years of age. Of this number, about one half were engaged.

At 9 o'clock, the Agent, after advising with the most sensible mechanics, and others of the settlers, issued an order for contracting the lines, by excluding about one-fourth part of the houses, and surrounding the remainder, including the stores, with a musket-proof stockade; at the angles of which, all the guns were to be posted. The fence palings and building materials of individuals, were taken for this palisade, of which, before night, more than 80 yards were completed.

This work was resumed early the next day, and far advanced towards a completion, before it was judged safe to devote an hour even to the melancholy duty of burying the dead; which was performed on the evening of the 12th.—By contracting the lines, the number of men necessary to guard them, was considerably reduced; and thus a relief for the people obtained, which their sickly and feeble state absolutely called for. As early as the 14th, one-half of their number were released from camp duty, after 8 o'clock in the morning; but every man remanded to his post through the night. An additional gun was mounted and posted on the same day: on the 17th, the artillerists were newly organized; and every day witnessed either some improvements in the discipline of the men, or in the means of defence and annoyance.

It could not fail, in the state of utter abandonment and solitude to which this little company was reduced, to be felt as an encouraging circumstance, that Tom Bassa, a prince of some distinction,

should, at this moment, have sent a message to assure the Colony of his friendship; and in testimony of his sincerity, to have forwarded a small present of the productions of the country.

The inclosure was completed on Sunday morning, the 17th; when about one-half of the people had the privilege of celebrating Divine Service—a privilege which many of them very highly appreciated.

It is not to be either concealed, or made the object of a too severe censure, that several of the people should have yielded, as soon as leisure was afforded for reflection, to the discouraging circumstances of their situation. There were not at this time, exclusive of rice, 15 days' provisions in store. Every individual was subjected to an allowance which could not sustain animal strength, under the burden of so many severe and extraordinary labours. Nothing could be obtained from the country. Seven infant children were in the hands of an enemy infuriated by his recent losses. The native forces were certainly not dispersed; but it was no longer in the Agent's power either to learn the intentions of the chiefs, or convey any message thro' to them. Add to these unpleasant ingredients of their lot, the more cruel circumstance, perhaps of all, that the ammunition of the Colony was insufficient for a single hour's defence of the place if hotly attacked, and an apology may surely be found for the very alarming despondency which was invading the minds of several of the settlers.—It was a happy providence that, at the critical moment, the Agent's health was so far mended as to put it in his power often to attend the men, at their posts and labours, by night and day—to animate them by every method which his invention could suggest—and when these failed, to draw from their despair itself, an argument for a faithful discharge of their duty. In this difficult labour, he was ably and successfully supported by several of the most sensible and influential of the Colonists.

It was the Agent's wish, if possible, to engage the kings in treaty, for a peace. The actual state of the settlement required it; and the common principles of humanity must be sacrificed by any degree of indifference in the matter, as long as so large a number of children belonging to the settlement, were in the hands of an enemy, who in his treatment of them was known to be liable to the extremes of caprice and cruelty. To avert, if possible, from these little sufferers, the effects of their savage indignation, and at the

same time, open a door for friendly negotiation, a message was on the 22d, with some difficulty, got through to the council of native chiefs, who were engaged in debating the question of renewing hostilities, at king Peter's Town. The purport of this communication was, that "The Americans came with friendly intentions—have evinced those friendly attentions in all their intercourse with the people of this country.—Why have you then brought war on us, without any complaint of injury? We are willing to settle a peace. But we are also prepared to carry on the war; and can render it immensely more bloody and destructive than you felt it before." The message left the settlement at 6 o'clock, P. M. and at daylight the next morning, an answer was received, that, "having bought the low land of Bushrod Island, the Americans had seized upon the Cape, without right—that the country people visiting the settlement, had been cheated and roughly used by the store-keeper—that the Agents had not fulfilled their promise of instructing the people. But they would gladly make peace, if satisfaction were offered for these injuries."

*(To be Continued.)*

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## Latest from Liberia.

*To the President of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

MONROVIA, 10th May, 1826.

REV. SIR:

The full communications made to the Board of Managers by the "Indian Chief," which sailed on the 25th ultimo, might perhaps excuse an omission to write by the present conveyance, via Barbadoes, were it not of some importance to inform the Board that *no important information* of more recent date, occurs for communication.

The governor of Sierra Leone has laid a blockade on the line of coast reaching from that colony to Cape Mount, inclusive; which, while it subjects us to some present inconvenience, promises effectually to destroy—as it has already wholly suspended—the slave-trade, hitherto carried on from Gallinas.—Captains Chase and Coltrell remain in our neighbourhood—and have either captured, or "payed" away every Guineaman known to be on any part of the coast between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone.—

The effect of these measures is already felt in the Colony. Fowls, vegetables, cattle, and rice, in hitherto unknown abundance, are finding their way to Montserado; the prices of country produce and foreign merchandise, are returning to their former standards; and the coast tribes are looking again after their own resources—a thing their indolence never will undertake, so long as the profit of the trade of slaves passing through their hands, from the interior to the European purchaser, lays them under no necessity to do it.

We have thought proper to interdict this trade on the whole line of coast comprehended between Cape Mount and Trade Town, both inclusive. The ground assumed is that of a qualified jurisdiction, actually held by the Colony over this whole district. It is believed that no slaver coming from Europe, or the West Indies, will proceed to land his cargo (and without landing it, he cannot get slaves) in the face of such an interdict formally notified to him; which we can easily do in all cases.—But, in case his audacity prevails, and goods are landed, we have only to announce to the native chiefs of the place, that, according to the laws of the Colony, those goods are forfeit, and an instant seizure of the whole, in nine out of ten cases, is certain to follow. The public boats now on the stocks, cannot fail to render us the most important service in this business—and our hopes are high, that the world is to hear little or nothing more of the ravages of this detestable and outlawed traffic, from this part of the coast.

It is a circumstance you will learn with pleasure, Sir, that all the late emigrants from North Carolina, amounting to 125 persons, of all ages and habits, have got safely thro' the slight fever which assailed them without a single exception, soon after their arrival. Of the remaining 30, from Virginia and Maryland, one man, from relapsing by his own imprudence after convalescence, has died—and two small children.

The Rev. Mr. Holton is far advanced in convalescence;—and a commodious school-house, of two ground apartments, is building by the people, for two of the schools of the Colony.—A slight receptacle, of sufficient capacity to hold 150 people, was completed two weeks ago; and will furnish dry and comfortable quarters thro' the approaching rains, (which will set in within five to ten days) to all the new settlers not provided for on the St. Paul's. To this accommodation, and the very improved state of our hospital and medical department, must be chiefly attributed, as far



as second causes are to be considered, the very small amount of suffering experienced by these people since their arrival.

Mr. Hodges, the boat builder from Norfolk, has been slightly sick, and is yet too weak to resume his employment. A few days, it is hoped, will restore him to his former health.

For the first time in two years, I am confined wholly to my room, of the effects of an injury I received at Trade Town. The contusion was a little troublesome at first, but I soon, as was supposed, got the better of it, and felt little inconvenience till the 2d of May; when the injury took on every character of an ulcerous affection, and made it necessary to submit to a course of medical treatment, which I fear must be continued for weeks, perhaps months. But my confinement to my office is little or no impediment to the business I have to do; and I have the satisfaction to add, that the public work, in all its parts, never went forward more regularly, or more successfully.

It is my wish to meet every description of expense, necessary to be incurred within the Colony, without troubling the Society with drafts on the treasury: and think I should be able easily to satisfy the gentlemen of the Board, that I have hitherto executed this duty to a very reasonable extent. But, a few light drafts, for aught I can see, must occasionally be made on their funds at home. I have none, however, to make by this conveyance; nor do I know that it will be necessary to do so, for several months to come. But I think it prudent to apprise the Board a little beforehand, of a necessity of so very probable an occurrence.

A large proportion of the fine collection of seeds, which certainly arrived in excellent condition, are *absolutely worthless*, and must have been so before they came into the Society's hands. Our disappointment is severe; it reaches to the Colony's supply of vegetables,—American vegetables particularly, for a whole twelvemonth.—It will be safer, perhaps, to be indebted to the charities of every description of tradesmen, than of the seedsman. A good price paid for *fresh* seeds, will, I think, sir, be found cheaper than such a misfortune as I have just related. A *large* quantity of seeds ought to arrive some time in the winter or spring months. A *small* assortment is useful at any season.

We wait impatiently the arrival of the lumber vessel. Please here acknowledge the donation from Captain John Chase, of the Colombian armed schooner "*Jacinta*," of 30 stands of arms, 8

casks of powder, 2 casks of bread, and 2 casks of salted provisions.—(The two last articles were the subsistence of our troops on the expedition to Trade Town.)

Respectfully, Reverend Sir,

Your obed't and humble serv't,

J. ASHMUN.

### REQUISITION.

*An abundant supply of domestic manufactured cottons;*

*Agricultural tools*—particularly grubbing and N. England hoes;—axes, broad and narrow,—picks, and bill hooks;

*Other tools and implements in common use*—particularly hand-saws, drawing-knives, hammers, files, bench-planes, gimblets, (large and small,) augurs, cross-cut saws;

*Molasses*—a large supply.

I do not advise that these articles should wholly take the place of any other, as in the excellent assortment sent out per the “Indian Chief.” But that they be considered in all shipments, as *leading articles*, and that a larger relative quantity be hereafter sent, than ever has been done.—The Board, if peculiarly acquainted with our habits, and the circumstances of the colony, would perceive, that the above list comprehends most of those things which are of the first necessity to the great labouring body of the Colonists; consequently, most in demand, and forming of itself, an assortment in some sense complete.—*Lumber* must, however, have a place in all requisitions.

J. A.

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## Thoughts on Slavery.

The following extract is from a pamphlet by the celebrated Dr. Chalmers. The plan developed and recommended coincides remarkably with that proposed by Mr. Schoolcraft: “and as to the experimental soundness of it,” Dr. C. remarks in an advertisement prefixed to the pamphlet itself, “we have the testimony of Humboldt, who, in the course of his travels through the Spanish part of South America, saw whole villages of emancipated negroes, who had achieved their liberation in the way that is here delineated.”

“It were a noble achievement, this conversion of slaves into freemen; and therefore the more important for its ultimate success, that in every step of its prosecution there should be an even-

handed justice to all the parties concerned. More especially, would it serve to accredit the philanthropy that is now so widely and so warmly embarked upon this undertaking, did they who advocate its designs also bear their part in the expenses of them; and it would do much to allay the fermentation that now is among the West India planters, could they have any satisfying demonstration from Parliament, that, however intent on the emancipation of their slaves, it should be so devised and carried into effect as not to infringe on the present worth of their patrimony.

The following suggestion is the more valuable that it hath come from a gentleman who is himself a very extensive West India proprietor; and that, while it holds out a complete remuneration to the owners of slaves, promises the conveyance of them into a state of freedom with a speed and a safety that ought to satisfy the most sanguine abolitionist.

The scheme may be expressed generally thus:—Let government purchase from the West India proprietors, at a fair valuation, one day's labour in the week of all the slaves in their possession. This can be done by paying one-sixth of their whole price; after which, each slave hath at least one day every week, in which he is a free labourer, and might earn for himself. He of course becomes the absolute owner of what he thus earns; and let it be competent for him, when it has accumulated to a sufficient sum, therewith to purchase, at a certain regulated price, another free day in the week. Having thus two days to himself, he is able to accelerate his future purchases of freedom; and thus, as the fruit of his own industry and care, might he, in a very few years, work out his complete emancipation.

Or the scheme may be made still more intelligible when illustrated by numbers. Let the whole slave population of the British colonies be 800,000. At £50 each, which is a high estimate when thus made to include all ages, the ~~sixth~~ <sup>sixth</sup> part of their whole value to the owners is short of seven millions. By funding this sum to the credit of the proprietors, one day's free labour to each slave might become the universal law of the British West Indies. The registry of slaves gives every facility for assigning the shares of this stock to the respective proprietors, whether they be principals or mortgagees upon the estates. And when once this arrangement is made, a patent and a practicable way is opened for the full deliverance of the negroes from a state of slavery. Whole gangs are

not unfrequently hired out at 3s. 4d. currency a head per day, and their maintenance: and there can be no doubt, from the difference between free and forced labour, that an ordinary working slave could earn for himself, on the day that is his own, at least 3s. 4d. sterling.\* This sum weekly is more than £8 a year, or about a sixteenth part, perhaps, of his whole value; and for which last sum, therefore, he could, in less than three years, purchase another free day each week. With the earnings of two free days, he could, in another three years, purchase two more, and then, in a year and a half, could work out the freedom of his whole week, or his entire emancipation. At all events, in seven or eight years, each individual, if in health and full strength, could work out his own deliverance from slavery; after which he might proceed to do the same for others of his family, if he has one. The freedom of a woman, when once accomplished in this way, would, by the existing law, secure the freedom of all the children that are afterwards born by her; and this would be of prime importance in extending the work of emancipation. The process is easily apprehended; and seems to meet all the formidable difficulties, and to combine all the most desirable advantages both to the slave and to his proprietor."

### Address of C. C. Harper.

*Extract from a late Address of Charles Carroll Harper to the voters of Baltimore.*

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 "Another measure to which I wish to devote as much of my time as my business will allow, and all the means at my command, is African Colonization. For several years the subject of abolition of slavery has been brought before you. I am decidedly opposed to the project recommended. No scheme of abolition will meet my support, that leaves the emancipated blacks among us. Experience has proved, that they become a corrupt and degraded class, as burthensome to themselves as they are hurtful to the rest of society. Shut out from the privileges of citizens, separated from us by the insurmountable barrier of colour, they can never amalga-

\* It should be remarked, however, that free negroes are hired at rates which are exceedingly various in the different colonies.

mate with us, but must remain forever a distinct and inferior race, repugnant to our republican feelings, and dangerous to our republican institutions. To transfer them from slavery into such a condition, would be a mockery of freedom. To set them free without the consent of their owners, would be a violation of the rights of property. To release them from the restraint of servitude, and turn them loose to prey upon a society which they can never constitute or benefit, would be inconsistent with their happiness and ours. Free blacks are a greater nuisance than even slaves themselves.\* To abolish slavery effectually, we must prepare the means of removal for the blacks.

I am, therefore, my fellow-citizens, decidedly opposed to so rash and incomplete a scheme of abolition. But if there is any project of which I wish to be considered as the advocate, it is this: the gradual emancipation of the blacks, and their immediate removal, with their own consent and that of their masters, to the coast of Africa, or elsewhere if they prefer it. That slavery should exist among us is a foul reproach; but our safety requires that it be abolished gradually. To permit the blacks to remain amongst us, after their emancipation, would be to aggravate and not to cure the evil. The only effectual remedy, in my opinion, is to remove them immediately, as they gradually obtain their freedom by gift or purchase or in the natural course of things. There are now at least five thousand free blacks in the city of Baltimore. We can make it their interest to remove. Every thing urges them to go. By their departure, thousands of places will be opened for our fellow citizens who are in want of employment. Into these vacant places, will immediately rush a white and more wholesome species of population. Industry will be encouraged, misery alleviated, the city strengthened: and thus humanity will work its own reward.—The blacks we can provide with a home on the coast of Africa, whence they originally came, and where they may become, after their long captivity and dispersion, a flourishing and enlightened people, and enjoy under our protection, the free institutions we have taught them to admire.

This is the scheme which I shall, if elected, press upon the nation through the medium of our legislature. If the general govern-

\* This is speaking generally. There are many free blacks, who are honorable, honest, and enlightened, and for whom I entertain a sincere respect. Such of them as are otherwise, may justly ascribe it to their situation.

ment cannot be prevailed on to adopt so rational and philanthropic a design, then should Maryland, alone, strive to rid herself, at least, of the disease and crime of slavery. She is competent to the task.

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[FROM THE NEW-YORK SPECTATOR.]

## Plea for the American Colonization Society.

We have perused with no inconsiderable pleasure, a sermon under the above title, preached in St. George's Church in this city on the 9th inst. by the Rev. Dr. Milnor, and published for the benefit of the Society. "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God," (Psalm LXVIII. 31,) is the appropriate text selected for the occasion; and, whatever may be the differences of opinion respecting the Society, as a means of the ultimate emancipation of the great body of slaves whose bondage disgraces our land, all who peruse this discourse will agree, that in the present instance an eloquent pen and a benevolent heart, have been exerted in its behalf. After a suitable exordium, in which the author dwells with peculiar satisfaction upon the cheering promise of the text, "the fulfilment of which is to usher in the latter day glory of the church," he briefly recapitulates the history of the Society, the difficulties encountered in its formation—the discouragements and obstacles which have since been happily surmounted, and the promising state of the Colony at Liberia, at the date of the latest advices, the reasons are presented why the Society deserves "the patronage of every patriot, philanthropist, and christian in our country." Having stated the plan of the Society, the author proceeds to advocate its claims under these three general heads, or divisions, as follows:—1st. "To the *patriot*, to the man who loves his country, and is ready to give his heart and hand to every effort calculated to advance her prosperity, the Colonization of the free people of colour commends itself to our approbation and support, because it will promote the public good." 2d. The cause of African Colonization is commended to the *philanthropist*, "because it is an undertaking of undoubted benevolence." 3d. With equal confidence it is commended to the regards of the *christian*, "because

under the Divine blessing, it will greatly extend the kingdom of Christ." We might make extracts which would be read with interest, from the discussions of each of these heads, but they would necessarily be copious, and perhaps would therefore injure the sale—a result which would be injurious to the funds of the society. Suffice it then to say, that the several considerations are all treated with ability, and in a manner which bespeak feelings of elevated and enlightened benevolence.

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[FROM THE RICHMOND FAMILY VISITOR.]

### **Colonization Society of Mangohick, King William County.**

At a meeting of this society, on the 4th of July, Mr. A. Broadus delivered an address, appropriate to the occasion, considered both as the anniversary of our Independence and the meeting of the society.

The members then convened, when the report of the managers was read and adopted; and contributions were received amounting to between forty and fifty dollars. The unfavourable aspect of the day operated considerably against the meeting, and consequently the amount of the collection was much smaller than was to have been expected.

The society then took into consideration the proposal, from the parent society, to present memorials to the different state legislatures, as well as one to the general government of the U. States, for furthering and promoting the object in view; whereupon it was resolved, that we heartily concur in the expediency of this measure, and adopt, with this view, the form recommended by the parent society.

John Roane, Esq. Doct. Wm. B. Westmore, and Maj. Thomas Dabney, were appointed a committee to confer with other auxiliary societies of this state, on the most advisable method for carrying the resolution just mentioned into effect.

It was resolved, that the secretary prepare a sketch of the proceedings of this meeting, to be published in some of the public prints, with an abstract of Mr. Broadus's address, and the report of the managers.

J. Roane, Esq. was appointed President of the society for the ensuing year; R. B. Semple, and Adw. Broaddus, Vice-Presidents; C. W. Taliaferro, Secretary; and Dr. Wm. Gwathmey, Treasurer; the other managers were also appointed; and then the meeting adjourned.

### REPORT.

The officers and managers of *The King William Union Colonization Society*, in resigning the trust committed to them, to those who gave it, feel that it would be doing injustice to their constituents, to the cause in which they are engaged, and to their own feelings, were they to content themselves with simply detailing their own operations as servants to the society. They feel that, at this time, there is a peculiar propriety in recurring to first principles, and considering the motives which originally prompted to the formation, not only of this society, but of every one which has engaged in the same humane, benevolent, and politic enterprise.

They conceive also, that it will be particularly proper to advert to the operations of the parent society, and to dwell, a little in detail, on the interesting facts presented in the reports and other communications from that society, as also to take a view of the prospective operations of that institution.

And first, as to the motives which have prompted us and others to engage in this enterprise; we say, we believe they are founded on those great principles of *moral right*, which, while they dictate to us to render to all their dues, while they recognize the exercise of humanity and benevolence, as incumbent upon us, do, at the same time, comport with our best interest, considered in its most comprehensive views. What is the object aimed at? That which has been professed by the parent society from the time of its formation till this time—the colonization upon the coast of Africa, of the free people of colour in the United States, with their own consent; and of such as may be emancipated by their owners, or by the laws of the several states, upon condition of their uniting in such a colony. Is there an individual who, acquainted with the situation of that portion of the people of colour among us, called free, will not say, that surely the purpose of giving them a country to themselves, one in which each individual shall enjoy, to its full extent, liberty, both civil and religious, is a humane, a benevolent one? Occupying a station of inferiority and of disability, in regard to most of those things which are calculated to prompt the noble aspirations of the soul, they in most instances, dash from their lips that portion of the cup of blessings which they are permitted to enjoy; they grope out a life of indolence and ignorance, and grovel in the dust of sensuality and vice.

Such has hitherto been their situation, such it now is, and such it is likely to continue while they remain among us; for, our own interest, during this state of things, seems not likely to be promoted by elevating them in the scale of being. The character of this portion of our population being such, the moral and physical state of our country, so far from receiving any improvement from them, is injured in proportion to their number; and there-



fore it is urged, nay, it must be apparent to all, that we shall be benefited by being separated from them, as well as that their best interests will thus be promoted.

In fine, upon this part of the subject, we cannot but think, that this plan, if examined with a liberal, candid, and unprejudiced mind, recommends itself to us by every consideration, both of right and of interest.

Secondly, as to the operations, &c. of the parent institution.—Something like ten years have elapsed, since the formation of this society; and since that time, they have prosecuted, with undeviating aim, the grand object proposed; they have purchased a territory on the coast of Africa, proved to be well calculated for the intended purpose, and have succeeded in establishing a colony. The number of colonists amounts, at this time, to about 420, and is every year receiving additions, by the emigration of free people of colour from the United States, many of whom have gone from this our native state.

The plans of the society are no longer problematical. It is found that territory may be obtained, and, indeed, since the original purchase, considerable additions have been made by purchase, to the landed possessions of the colony: and, from present appearances, there seems no reasonable prospect that the operations of the society, will be impeded for the want of territory; at least for a long time to come. Actual experiment has likewise proved, that people of colour enjoy remarkably good health in Africa. From the communications received, we are warranted in the belief, that few, if any, colonial establishments have ever succeeded better, or been brought in a shorter time, into something like a prosperous and comfortable state. Enjoying those blessings for the attainment of which they left these their native shores, the colonists are rapidly advancing in those improvements which are calculated to make their “desert blossom as the rose,” at the same time that they bestow an enlightened and liberal attention on improvements, moral, civil, and religious.

A recent communication from Mr. Ashmun, the agent in Liberia, presents, under separate heads, a view of the health, the civil state, and the agriculture of the colony; the means of the colonists to obtain the comforts of life, and acquire property, the buildings and other works of construction, the means of literary and other kinds of mental improvement, the defensive force of the colony, their religious character, their morals, accessions of territory, new establishments connected with the colony, and the relations of the colony with the neighbouring tribes. This able and interesting communication gives to the friends of the institution strong reason to believe, that their most sanguine hopes and expectations will be fully realized.

The consideration that the cost of transporting emigrants to the colony, has diminished from about fifty, to twenty dollars, and the prospect of a farther diminution, are particularly encouraging to the friends of this institution. There have been during the last year, considerable accessions to the number of auxiliary societies:—In Virginia there were 23, Maryland, 8, New-York, 8, Pennsylvania, 1, North Carolina, 7, Georgia, 3, Kentucky, 1, Delaware, 2, Vermont, 1, New-Jersey, 1, New-Hampshire, 1, Maine, 1; making an aggregate

of 57 auxiliary societies, according to the last account furnished by the parent society. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the open, and we may say violent opposition of some, the fears and jealousies of more, and the coldness and indifference of others, we believe that the plans and operations of this institution, are recommending themselves rapidly to the American people, and acquiring to it daily more and more friends. Indeed such has been the success of the society, that they now feel themselves authorized to come out more publicly, and address memorials to the different state governments and to congress, praying them to grant it their countenance and aid, in the manner which to them may seem most expedient. Copies of the memorial to the several state governments have been forwarded to the auxiliary societies, with the view of obtaining their co-operation, and we have this day the honour of submitting one to the consideration of this society. It will appear, by reference to the proceedings of the parent society, that it has from the beginning, looked to the power and resources of the nation for the full accomplishment of the grand object aimed at. To this patronage as well as to the best wishes of all the benevolent, we think the institution has a fair claim, independent of the principal object of its formation. The Colony of Liberia occupies the place of a sentinel and an auxiliary, in the suppression of the *slave trade*; and already has the general government witnessed the efficacy of exertions from that quarter, in checking the progress of that iniquitous and revolting commerce. We mention this, however, only by the way; and hope that the leading object of this institution will be considered as entitled to the best wishes and best efforts of the nation at large. The utmost of what could be effected by private charity is now nearly attained. Through its instrumentality, it has been shown, that territory may be obtained in Africa, and that a colony may be successfully sustained there; and when we reflect that the plans of this society are in perfect coincidence with the prevailing sentiments of Virginia, expressed through her legislature for a length of time past, and that moreover the legislature has in two successive sessions made appropriations to the society, we are warranted in the conclusion that the application to our legislature will not be unavailing. It is for us now to say, whether we will concur with the parent society in the memorial to the legislature of our state. Are we convinced that the cause in which we are engaged, is one in which the general interests of the several states constituting our union, as also those of humanity, are involved?—surely we shall not be backward in lending our co-operation to the plan of addressing a memorial to the legislature of our state. Let us not be lukewarm in a cause which recommends itself to us by so many interesting considerations; but let us with heart and hand promptly aid the parent institution in its important operations.

On *this day* which should recal to our minds the noble sacrifices and glorious achievements of our ancestors, having, for their object, the moral and political improvement of our country; let us not be content with merely contemplating and celebrating their noble deeds, but let us emulate their bright example; let us show that we have imbibed in their purity, and that we cherish, in our hearts and minds, those glorious moral and political principles,

which they fought, and bled, and died to establish and maintain. Let us show ourselves disposed to follow those principles out to their legitimate issue.

In reference to our operations, we have only to say that we have promptly remitted to the parent society nearly the whole amount of funds which have come into the hands of the treasurer. We have sixty-six members enrolled on the list of the society. We judged it best to retain a small part of the funds, that, in the event of our meeting with an individual among us, who might be disposed to become a member of the colony, we might secure him a passage by appropriating that amount which, according to the arrangements of the parent society, would entitle us to claim a passage for such an individual. Our secretary, some time since, received a letter from the resident agent (Mr. Gurley,) informing us that the society was in great want of money, in order to defray the expenses incurred by the late transportation of colonists, &c. From the low state of the funds, however, we were induced to postpone a remittance till after our annual meeting, from which we have hoped that our treasury would be so far replenished, that we might be enabled to make something like a respectable contribution.

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## **American Colonization Society.**

We rejoice that the cause in which the Colonization Society is embarked, is reviving in the state of New-York. The visit of the resident agent to that part of the United States, has been attended with great advantage, as will appear from the record of the proceedings of a public meeting held in one of the churches of New-York. The account is taken from the "New-York Observer."

It will be seen by the annexed official notice, that a public meeting was held in Dr. Spring's Church, Beekman-street, on Wednesday evening last, to consider and aid the objects of the American Colonization Society. The views of the progress and hopes of the Institution were unfolded to the meeting by the Resident Agent of the Society from Washington, and a discussion of considerable interest excited in reference to the practicability of the proposed plans for colonization. The resolutions, adopted with but little opposition, show that the objects of this Society receive the cordial approbation of many of our enlightened and virtuous citizens, and that they consider them as presenting an immediate and urgent claim to the public liberality. We hope that the meeting may be succeeded by very important results. Should collections be taken up in the churches of our city, pecuniary aid would not be the only benefit realized. The clergy would find an appropriate occasion for explaining and enforcing the purposes of the Society, and for

impressing their importance upon the public mind. We rejoice in the conviction, that the friends of Africa are becoming daily more numerous and active, and in the hope that the Colonization Society will soon receive the patronage and support of the nation. 'The Society propose, we understand, to send one or two vessels with emigrants immediately to Liberia, if adequate means are obtained; and we trust that our citizens will cheerfully and generously contribute to accomplish so desirable a purpose.

At a numerous and respectable meeting held in the brick Presbyterian Church, August 16th, 1826, for the purpose of devising measures for aiding the American Colonization Society, the Rev. Dr. JAMES MILNOR was appointed Chairman, and Dr. JOHN B. BECK, Secretary.

The Rev. Mr. GURLEY, resident agent of the Colonization Society, having addressed the meeting, and given an interesting account of the origin and present condition of the Colony established on the coast of Africa; it was

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting, the American Society for Colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, is an Institution founded upon just, humane, patriotic and Christian principles, and is therefore entitled to the countenance and support of the community and nation.

*Resolved*, That to aid the Society in the important purpose of sending additional emigrants to Liberia the present season, a subscription be opened, and that the funds thus raised, be paid over to the treasurer of the New-York Auxiliary Colonization Society.

*Resolved*, That this meeting respectfully recommend that collections be taken up for this Society in the several churches of this city, and that Messrs. William B. Crosby, the Rev. Dr. M'Murray, George Gallagher, Garritt N. Bleeker, and John Nitchie, be a committee to adopt such measures as they judge best to carry into effect these resolutions.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the prints of this city.

JAMES MILNOR, *Chairman.*

JOHN B. BECK, *Secretary.*

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*The list of Donations, unavoidably omitted in this number, will be inserted in the next.*

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

SEPTEMBER, 1826.

[NO. VII

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REVIEW OF THE

**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 172.)

IF we estimate events, not by the circumstances of their origin, but by their probable ultimate influence upon the character and condition of mankind, few will be found to have occurred, during the last century, more important than the establishment of colonies on the coast of Africa. From the growth of these colonies, may we expect the entire suppression of the slave trade, the civilization and moral renovation of Africa, and finally, the gradual restoration of her children, to institute upon her shores free governments, and to exhibit there the excellence, enjoy the hopes, and diffuse the influence of the christian faith. Such results will be great and glorious. To terminate the traffic in slaves, to reclaim a continent from barbarism, to bring up from degeneracy and wretchedness a whole race of men, are objects of extraordinary interest, nor can any causes be deemed insignificant which may conduce to their accomplishment.

The earliest recorded thoughts, which we have been able to discover, relating to the Colonization of the people of colour in

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Africa, are in Mr. Sharp's manuscript, under date August 1st, 1783. That similar ideas existed at the same period, in other minds, both in this country and England, is perhaps not improbable; but to the honour of having first moved for their practical adoption, Mr. Sharp appears justly entitled. The paper to which we refer, contains the opinions of this gentleman, in reference to the mode of colonization, and the government best adapted to secure the permanent interests of the emigrants. Subsequent events proved, that his love of freedom and christianity, excited erroneous expectations in reference to the influence of religious principle upon an unenlightened and degraded community, and convinced him that human depravity was not always to be controlled by the deductions of reason and appeals to conscience.

But though Mr. Sharp was the leader in this great cause,\* the reflections and efforts of some of our own countrymen were given to it, at a very early period.

Dr. Thornton of this city, had, in the year 1787, invited many of the coloured people of Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, to accompany him in an expedition to Africa, and the invitation was accepted, but the community declared itself more favourable to colonization in this country, and the contributions proved inadequate to the fulfilment of his purpose.

In the American Museum, we find an able article on this subject, dated Richmond, March 6th, 1790, from the pen of Mr. Ferdinando Fairfax, the sentiments of which are generally so just, that some extracts may not be unacceptable:

“This subject has afforded, in conversation, a wide field for argument, or rather, speculation, both to the friends and opposers of emancipation. Whilst the former plead natural right and justice, which are considered as paramount

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\* The following extract from Brissot's travels in the United States, in 1788, it will be seen, ascribes the merit of having first suggested the project of African Colonization to Dr. Fothergill, an eminent philanthropist, on terms of great intimacy with Granville Sharp.

“We must then recur to the project of Dr. Thornton,—a project first imagined by that great apostle of philanthropy, Doctor Fothergill; a project executed by the Society at London, or rather by the beneficent Granville Sharp—a project for restoring the negroes to their country, to establish them there, and encourage them in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, cotton, &c. and to open a commerce with Europe. Dr. Thornton has occupied himself with this consoling idea. He proposed himself to be the conductor of the American negroes who should repair to Africa.” *Brissot's Travels*, page 308.

to every other consideration : the latter insist upon policy, with respect both to the community and to those who are the objects proposed to be benefitted ; the one party considers liberty as a natural right, which we cannot, without injustice, withhold from this unhappy race of men : the other, at the same time that it admits these principles, opposes a general emancipation, on account of the inconveniences which would result to the community and to the slaves themselves, and which, consequently, would render it impolitic ; besides the injustice which would be done to individuals by a legislative interference (without voluntary consent) in private property, which had been acquired and possessed under the laws of the country. But no practicable scheme has yet been proposed, which would unite all these principles of justice and policy, and thereby remove all ground for opposition : all that has hitherto been offered to the public upon this subject, has been addressed, rather to the feelings, than to the cool and deliberate judgment. The following plan is therefore submitted, without apology, since it is only intended to suggest the idea, which may be improved by some abler hand.

It seems to be the general opinion, that emancipation must be gradual ; since, to deprive a man, at once, of all his right in the property of his negroes, would be the height of injustice, and such as, in this country, would never be submitted to : and the resources of government are by no means adequate to making at once a full compensation. It must therefore be by voluntary consent—consequently in a gradual manner. It is equally agreed, that, if they be emancipated, it would never do to allow them *all* the privileges of citizens : they would therefore form a separate interest from the rest of the community.

If this separate interest of so great a number in the same community, be once formed, by any means, it will endanger the peace of society : for it cannot exist between two neighbouring states, without danger to the peace of each—How much less, then, between the inhabitants of the same country ?

This suggests the propriety, and even necessity of removing them to a distance from this country. It is therefore proposed,

That a colony should be settled, under the auspices and protection of congress, by the negroes now within the United States, and be composed of those who are already, as well as those who, at any time hereafter, may become liberated by the voluntary consent of their owners ; since there are many who would willingly emancipate their slaves, if there should appear a probability of their being so disposed of, as neither to injure themselves nor the community. As an additional inducement, government may, as the resources of the country become greater, offer a reward or compensation, for emancipation. There is however, in the mean time, a sufficient number to form a very considerable colony.

That congress should frame a plan, and appoint the proper officers for the government of the colony in its infant state, until the colonists should themselves become competent to that business.

That there should be suitable provision made for their support and defence ;  
And,

That, to forward their progress in the useful arts, and to qualify them for the business of legislation, a considerable number of those who are intended to be sent over after the first settlement, should be properly educated and instructed; and that one of the first objects should be the establishment of seminaries in the colony for a like purpose.

That the seat of this colony should be in Africa, their native climate, as being most suitable for the purposes intended. They will there be at such a distance as to prevent all the beforementioned inconveniences of intercourse, &c. at the same time that they are situated within the neighbourhood of other nations of the same kind of people, with whom they may, after a little time, maintain the most intimate intercourse without any inconvenience. They will still have a great superiority over their neighbours, on account of their knowledge in the several useful arts: and as they gradually advance in importance, will, by their influence, diffuse this knowledge among this rude race of men. Nor ought we to consider as of little importance, the tendency that this settlement would have, to spread a knowledge of the christian religion among so great a proportion of mankind, who are at present ignorant of it—and that too in the most effectual manner.

With respect to ourselves, we might reap every advantage that we could enjoy from the settlement of any other colony—if not more. They would require our support and protection for a short time only, with fewer supplies of necessaries than any other (from the nature of the climate.) And they might soon, from their industry, and by commercial intercourse, make us amply amends for our expenses, and be enabled to live without our protection; and, after some time, to become an independent nation. But if we should gain no advantages, we should still accomplish the object intended.

Many difficulties and objections may be urged against this plan; but none, that are not equally forcible against the first planting of any other colony; and had they been fully admitted, neither this country, nor any other colony, would ever have been settled.

It may be said, that England, not long since, made an experiment of this kind, which was found not to succeed. But this can, by no means, be admitted as decisive: the number they sent over, was very small, compared to what we should be able to send: and perhaps, the means they adopted were incompetent to the accomplishment of the object. But did not the same thing occur in the first settlement of Virginia? There were two attempts made, before they succeeded; nor did the colony, at last, begin to flourish, until proper encouragements were given to industry, by the prospect presented to each man, individually, of receiving the reward of this industry, by commercial intercourse with other countries, and by the benefit which would result immediately to himself or to his family. This is confirmed by a circumstance recorded in the history of this colony, viz: when they first began to labour for subsistence, the plan was, that the produce of each man's labour, should be put into the common stock, from whence all should be supplied as occasion required. The consequence was, that they never made enough for their support, and were once or twice near starving; but as soon as each man



had his own ground assigned him, with directions to maintain himself and family, they made a plenty.

It may, however, be urged, that the negroes (having contracted such dispositions for idleness as always to require compulsion) will never voluntarily labour for subsistence. It is granted, that this would be the case were they to remain among us, where they find other means of support, and where they may prey upon others: and it is even probable, that, for a little time after their removal, the force of habit would operate in a considerable degree. But there can be no doubt, but that the same circumstances, which have once influenced mankind in any situation, will, in the same situation, actuate them again. And let us consult human nature—we shall find, that no man would labour but through necessity, or, after this necessity is answered, without some stimulus to honour or grandeur, either to himself or to his posterity: and that there is hardly any man who will not, from some of these motives, be induced to industry, if placed in a situation where there is no other resource.

All these motives are now wanting to the people in question: but who can say that when, by a change of situation, they shall operate in their full force, they will not have their effect?"

*Richmond, March 6, 1790."*

We have been gratified to find in these memoirs, a letter addressed to Mr. Sharp, by the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, an eminent minister of Newport, New England, bearing date, January 15th, 1789, and evincing the deep concern which he felt in plans for the Colonization of Africa.

*Rev. Samuel Hopkins to Granville Sharp.*

"SIR,

"I am pastor of the first congregational church, in Newport, Rhode-Island. When I removed to this town, my attention was soon turned to the slave trade, which had long been carried on here, and was still continued. It appeared to me wholly unjustifiable, and exceedingly inhuman and cruel: and I thought I was obliged in duty to condemn it in public, and to preach against it. I had better success than I expected.

I was, so far as I then knew, almost alone in my opposition to this trade, and the slavery of the Africans; but have since read with satisfaction your writings on that subject, some of which were published, I believe, before the time above mentioned. And I have had the pleasure of finding a conviction of the evil of this practice to spread and prevail in America.

In the commonwealth of Massachusetts, all the Africans are freed by their constitution; and many have obtained their freedom in this state; and all are born free, by a particular law of this state, who have been born since March, 1784, and all that shall be born hereafter. But the circumstances of the freed blacks are in many respects unhappy, while they live here among the whites; as the latter look down upon the former, and are disposed to treat

them as *underlings*, and deny them the advantages of education and employment, &c. which tends to depress their minds, and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, and involves them in many other disadvantages. This, and other considerations, have led many of them to desire to return to Africa and settle there among their equals and brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct church, or religious society, and to have a black appointed to be their pastor, (and there is one, at least, who is thought to be qualified for that office) and then to go, with all the blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands, which they think may be obtained, of some of the nations there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain the profession and practice of christianity, and spread the knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity; at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto uncivilized country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising tobacco, coffee, cotton, indigo, &c. for exportation, as well as for their own use.

This plan, I have had in view for some years, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America, to carry it into execution, there being no means, yet found, to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa, with a number of blacks, to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement.

In the mean time, we have, to our great joy, been informed that such a plan has been projected and executed in England. We were assured, that several ships, with a considerable number of blacks, sailed from England for Africa, in February, 1787, with a design to make a settlement on the windward coast. We have been earnestly waiting for, and expecting particular authentic information of the success of this expedition and the place and circumstances of the settlement; but have not received any to this day. It is indeed reported from Africa, by way of the West Indies, that those blacks have arrived there from England; and that a tract of land, twenty miles square, has been procured for them, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leone, and that the settlement is going on. But we have contradictory reports of the success of it.

All this, sir, is a long introduction to the following request. That you would please to inform me, whether such a tract of land is procured and on what conditions? Whether the blacks who settle on it have the fee of the land? Under what government they are? Whether British or their own, by a particular civil constitution, formed for them, to be executed by themselves, or some English gentlemen who do for that end reside among them? Whether there is any provision made to maintain and propagate religious knowledge among them and others who may live in their neighbourhood? Whether the settlers have behaved well and prospered, since they began, and what progress they have made? Finally, whether the blacks of New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labour, either on lands or

as mechanics, and are hereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement, better I believe, than any other blacks that can be found? whether *these blacks* can have any part of those lands to settle themselves upon, and on what terms; and what encouragement and assistance might they probably have?"

In those chapters of the memoirs which now demand our attention, Mr. Hoare presents us with the history of Mr. Sharp's exertions, not only as the original founder of the colony of Sierra Leone, but as subsequently, one of that philanthropic company, associated through his agency, upon whose generous and indefatigable exertions the very existence of this colony for several years depended. We have thus offered to us, the principal proceedings in reference to this settlement, from the time when the first emigrants embarked, to that when all the civil and military rights of the colony were surrendered to the British crown. From the materials thus furnished, and from others of more recent date, allotting to Mr. Sharp that place in our narrative to which his pre-eminent services lay claim, we shall venture to exhibit a concise history of the interesting and promising colony of Sierra Leone.

By the memorable decision in the case of Somerset, about four hundred negroes, unaccustomed to the profitable employments of a great city, were thrown upon their own resources in the streets of London. They flocked to Mr. Sharp, as to their patron; but considering their number, the other demands upon him, and his limited means, it was impossible for him to afford them adequate relief.

The class thus necessitous, was much increased by individuals recently discharged from the army and navy, whose improvidence soon reduced them to extreme distress. After much reflection, Mr. Sharp determined to colonize them in Africa.

The ingenious Mr. Smeathman now proposed to conduct the intended emigrants to Sierra Leone, at which place he had for some time resided. The government anxious to remove, what it regarded as a worthless and even injurious class of people, lent its aid to the project, and in consequence of the death of Mr. Smeathman, to whom it had allowed £12 for each colonist, assumed the whole expense of the expedition; supplied it with necessaries for six or eight months, and placed it under the command of captain (afterwards admiral Thompson,) instructing him to see all the promises of Mr. Sharp faithfully fulfilled. The transports, having on

board more than four hundred blacks, with sixty Europeans, sailed April 8th, 1787.

This expedition was most unfortunate. The crowded condition of the vessels, the intemperance of the people, and the unfavourable season in which they arrived on the coast, produced an alarming mortality, which reduced their numbers nearly one half during the first year. A large proportion of the deaths occurred during the passage.

The original grant of land, obtained by these settlers, is about twenty miles square, well watered and rising gradually from the river into mountains. From the Bullom shore these mountains appear like a number of hills irregularly thrown together, but when approached, they assume an aspect of singular beauty. The most inaccessible parts are covered with immense forests never touched by the breath of winter, but throwing the deep and unvarying shade of the richest foliage over the cragged cliffs which sustain them. Cape Sierra Leone, lies in 8 deg. 12 min. north latitude and about 12 deg. west longitude.

The previous unsettled habits and vicious character of the first emigrants to this beautiful spot, the deaths of their principal agents, and the sickness of their chaplain, soon produced desertions, so that the number at the settlement was reduced to 40 persons, and its benevolent patron apprehended a total extinction of his hopes. Resolved, however, to make every possible effort to sustain this sinking colony, with the aid of one or two friends, a small donation from government and an expense to himself of £800, Mr. Sharp fitted out the Brig *Myro*, with thirty-nine emigrants, and abundant supplies, and funds for the purchase of live stock at the cape De Verds; and she left the Downs on the 7th of June, 1788.

The arrival of this vessel produced great joy, and many who had been dispersed among the surrounding tribes returned to the settlement, so that 130 remained there when the *Myro* left the coast. Thirteen out of the thirty-nine passengers in this vessel, soon died. This mortality is attributed by Mr. Sharp, not solely to the climate, but to intemperance, the uncleared state of the ground, and to the unhappy location of the houses on a low and marshy situation.

In the regulation of this infant colony, Mr. Sharp seems to have relied too exclusively upon the power of moral principles, and to

have expected from them effects upon the uncultivated settlers and the still ruder natives, which are rarely witnessed in well instructed communities. He sought, says Mr. Hoare, to establish and uphold a state of entire social freedom and justice. But the experiment proved that he had materials to deal with, which were not to be adjusted and defended by their own inherent powers. The colony was disturbed by internal discord, and neither its wisdom nor energy were adequate to its defence.

In 1789, while the settlement was slowly rising from its deeply afflicted state, a neighbouring chief for the purpose of retaliating certain injuries received from a British slave factor on the coast, announced his intention to burn the settlement, and allowed but three days for the removal of the goods. This sentence was executed, and the colonists again dispersed throughout the surrounding country.

This blow well nigh annihilated the establishment. But of a good cause Mr. Sharp was not the man to despair. He immediately issued proposals for the formation of the St. George's Bay Company, (afterwards known as the Sierra Leone Company) and was encouraged by promises of support from numerous citizens. Indeed, the association was soon organized, and although the charter was for a time withheld, the members resolved to fit out a small vessel with stores for the suffering colony. The aid of government was also solicited, but in vain. Mr. Falconbridge, however, the company's agent, proceeded to the colony with temporary supplies, collected the scattered emigrants, furnished them with arms and ammunition, located them at a little distance from their former town, and reported on his return that their circumstances were greatly improved. After various applications to government, the charter of incorporation was obtained in 1791.

It is well known that numerous slaves escaped from the United States, during the revolutionary war, and placed themselves under British protection. On the return of peace, they were sent with a promise of lands, to Nova Scotia. The climate proved unfavourable, the government did not fulfil its promise, and they delegated one of their number to proceed to England and obtain permission for them to join the colony at Sierra Leone. The directors of the company immediately obtained the consent of government to this proposal. Although the number represented as wishing to remove did not exceed four hundred, yet Lieut. Clarkson, appointed to

command the expedition, to his great surprise, found 1196 prepared to embark for the colony. Disease attacked many on the passage, and only 1131 were landed in Africa: The site of the old town was fixed upon for the settlement, and the Nova Scotians began without delay to clear their grounds, and erect houses against the approaching rains. The ship *York*, of 850 tons, was in the mean time purchased by the directors of the company, and loaded with stores and lumber, which it was hoped would prevent any distress to which the settlers might be exposed during the season. She was unfortunately driven back by storms and subjected to great delay.

But notwithstanding these precautions, upon the arrival of the rains, fresh provisions were found wanting, and previous remissness, and the unsettled state of affairs aggravated the distress. The mortality was great; about one half the Europeans, and one tenth of the Nova Scotians, died during the season.

In the succeeding year, the lots were distributed to the settlers, two churches erected, a school established, a garden of experiment planted under the direction of Dr. Afzelius, an eminent botanist, the emigrants were healthy, and their labours attended with various manifest improvements. At home, the company adopted sundry important regulations, appointed two gentlemen of experience to be members of the council at the colony, ordered journals to be opened at the settlement, fixed upon a more correct mode of correspondence, and in the advances of their colony and its favour with the natives, saw joyful omens of success to their enterprise.

The settlers now appeared to be inured to the climate, and their children felt no bad effects from it. The schools were attended by the children both of natives and settlers to the number of three hundred, and the morals of the colony were thought to be improved.

Near the close of the year 1793, the *York* store-ship, which had been made the receptacle for African produce, collected by the company's vessels along the coast, unfortunately caught fire, and with all it contained, valued at £15000, was consumed. The directors however, were not discouraged by this severe calamity.

In 1794, some of the company's servants penetrated into the interior as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom, and on their return were accompanied by a deputation from the king of

that country, who proposed establishing a more regular intercourse with the colony.

About this time a disaffected party of the Nova Scotians excited an insurrection, which threatened the life of the governor and the safety of the colony, but which was happily suppressed and succeeded by more general submission to the laws.

The most terrible calamity, however, which ever visited the Sierra Leone colony, occurred in September, 1794. The history of civilized nations, will hardly furnish a parallel to the outrage, committed at that time, by the French, on this unoffending and defenceless settlement. With a fleet of several large ships, they attacked the colony, and although the colours were immediately struck, proceeded to pillage or destroy whatever came within their grasp. The books of the company were scattered and defaced, the printing presses, telescopes, barometers and thermometers, broken in pieces, the collections of the botanist taken or ruined, the accountant's office demolished, and finally, the buildings generally consigned to the flames.

The company's largest ship, the *Harpy*, with goods to the amount of about £10,000, now appeared off Sierra Leone, and was immediately captured. The English passengers, among whom was the company's chaplain, were plundered of their property, and even three natives who were returning from their visit to England, were robbed of the little presents with which they had been supplied. A number of tropical plants, from his majesty's collection at Kew, which were expected to thrive in Africa, were also destroyed. Great distress succeeded this barbarian invasion. The pecuniary loss to the company did not fall below £55,000.

The directors met this misfortune, great as it was, with firmness, and immediately despatched two vessels with supplies to the colony. Some rays of light shone even amid the darkness of this event. Destitute of all support from Europe, the colonists still found the resources of the territory sufficient for their subsistence, their jealousies of each other subsided, when convinced by foreign invasion of the necessity of union and of more regular and energetic plans of defence, and they yielded more cheerfully to the existing restraints and more readily discharged their duties.

The directors felt the importance of a stronger government, and even Mr. Sharp acknowledged it to be vain to forbear any

longer from the erection of forts, and other ordinary methods of security.

The four years succeeding the French invasion, may be considered the most prosperous period for the colony previous to its transfer to the crown.

During the administration of Mr. Macaulay, from the year 1796 to 1799, (although some of the settlers sought to counteract the measures of the government and were even at one time inclined to open rebellion,) affairs proceeded with tolerable regularity and the colony was greatly improved. In 1798, Freetown contained about 1200 inhabitants, three hundred houses, and a government house complete, located on an eminence and protected by a palisade and several pieces of cannon. Mr. Macaulay brought to England with him in 1799, twenty-one African boys, and four girls, in consequence of which was formed the society for the education of the Africans.

Mr. Ludlam who succeeded as governor, was embarrassed by difficulties of no ordinary kind. Some individuals among the hundreders and tithingmen (for Mr. Sharp had introduced the system of frank-pledge, which he seems to have regarded as the palladium of all social institutions) asserted the right of legislating for the colony on an equal footing with the governor, and even denied that they owed subjection to the laws of England, or to any laws except of their own appointment. Ascertaining also, that the legal powers of the company were inadequate to the enforcement of its authority, they were emboldened finally to assert a right to the sovereignty of the colony, to shut up the courts of justice, and even expel the Europeans or demand payment for their residence there, and to exclude from the administration all but officers of their own choice. Declarations of such a nature alarmed the directors, and they applied immediately to his majesty for a charter which should convey to the company indisputable authority to maintain the peace and execute the laws. This charter, creating the settlement an independent colony subject to the government and laws of the company, (provided these were not repugnant to the laws of England) was granted in 1800, and forthwith transmitted to Sierra Leone by one of his majesty's ships.

The spirit of insubordination rapidly increased in the colony, and the disaffected, apprehensive that the expected charter might frustrate their designs, on the 10th of September announced their



purpose of assuming all political power in the settlement. The governor and council adopted the most efficient measures to restore order. The insurgents refused all offers of accommodation. The governor, aided by the loyal settlers and many of the neighbouring tribes, on the 30th of September determined, to attack the rebels on the next day.

At this crisis, arrived the *Asia* transport, having on board five hundred and fifty Maroons (originally from Jamaica, but directly from Nova Scotia) commanded by Lieuts. Smith and Tolley. Assisted by these forces, the insurgents were routed, three of their number selected for trial under the new charter, and being subsequently convicted of felony, were executed.

The conduct of the Nova Scotia settlers, led the company to indulge but faint hopes of the Maroons. The favorable testimonies of their officers, the services just rendered, as well as the anxious desire expressed by them to be under the company's immediate direction, induced the governor, however, to assign them lots in Granville town. They proved regular and industrious, built a neat town and entered with spirit upon the cultivation of their farms. About this time a grant of £4000 was obtained from government in support of the civil establishment, the sum of £10,000 to indemnify the company for a part of its heavy cost in the settlement of the Nova Scotians, and a further sum of £7000 was appropriated to the construction of a fort. These grants awakened in the colony new industry and hope.

While the governor and council were, under the authority of the new charter, endeavouring, to strengthen the system of social order, a sudden attack was made upon the colony by some native chiefs, headed by two of the Nova Scotia insurgents who had effected their escape. They were repulsed, but with some loss on both sides. A truce was finally concluded in 1802, and upon the arrival of additional troops from Goree, peace was restored.

This unfortunate event compelled the directors of the company again to seek an increased pecuniary grant from parliament. In consequence of this application, accompanied by detailed information in reference to the colony, £10,000 were obtained for the year 1802. A little previous the directors had ventured to submit the question to the British government, "whether the work which they had begun might be considered a ground on which Parliament ought to proceed, adding this decisive declaration—'That unless

the colony could be rendered permanently safe, they were of opinion that it ought to be relinquished." A subsequent attack by the natives exceedingly depressed the spirits of the settlers, and called forth from the directors in 1803, a very spirited representation of the necessities and distress of the colony, and an urgent request that parliament would take it under its protection. The whole subject was fully investigated by a committee of the house of commons. In the course of the year 1807 peace was fully established with the natives, and on the 1st of January, 1808, all the rights and possessions of the Sierra Leone Company were surrendered to the British Crown. "The company then withdrew, says Mr. Hoare, from their arduous enterprize, bearing with them the grateful consciousness that its zealous and long continued labours had opened the paths of social improvement to a degraded continent for the diffusion of the arts of civilized life and of the benign precepts of christianity; that it had freely imparted the benefits flowing from those sources, as far the difficulties with which it had to struggle would permit; that by the education of numerous African youths, it had tended to raise the minds of numerous chiefs of that country, to the contemplation of just and important national objects, and had rescued their character and talents from the base aspersions of European avarice; that by exposing the real nature of the slave trade, and the artifices, by which those who engaged in it, had so long deluded a hesitating legislature, it had contributed, most materially, to the abolition of a traffic which insulted the country of the Creator, and inflicted unspeakable evils on our fellow creatures; that it had displayed the superior advantages of English law and English justice on a shore where England had been only known for crimes and named for execration; that, in fine, it had established a point of civilization for Africa on a central part now provided with adequate means of subsistence, which, under the blessing of Providence, might in time become the emporium of commerce with Europe, and maintain between the two continents all the friendly relations of peace, science, justice and religious truth."

In the progress of this charitable work, Mr. Sharp had sunk, of his own funds, more than £1400, and the Sierra Leone Company (the capital stock of which was £235,000,) £82,000.

The Sierra Leone colony now stands a noble monument of British philanthropy. The same year, in which parliament as-

sumed this colony as its own, was rendered illustrious in the annals of England by the abolition of the slave-trade. In the execution of the enactments of the British government on this subject, more than 10,000 wretched Africans have been liberated from the horrors of slave-ships, settled at sundry villages within the limits of this colony, clothed and fed, until capable of acquiring a subsistence, and through the aid of charitable societies, trained to industrious habits and instructed in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion. The AFRICAN INSTITUTION, rising as from the ashes of the SIERRA LEONE COMPANY, has continued to lend its aid to government and has nobly fulfilled its original design "to improve the temporal condition and the moral faculties of the natives of Africa; to diffuse knowledge and excite industry, by methods adapted to the peculiar situation and manners of the inhabitants; to watch over the execution of the laws that have been passed in this and other countries, for abolishing the African slave-trade; and, finally, to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe."

In 1824, the population of Sierra Leone exceeded 17000. Trade with the interior is extensive and rapidly increasing. As early as the year 1821, the revenue of this colony was rising of £6,000. In 1823, gold to the amount of £14,000 was received from the natives and remitted to England. But let it not be forgotten that the settlement is still in its infancy. Every day is it growing in influence and prosperity, checking the slave-trade, instructing barbarians by example, and qualifying those for their work who may hereafter introduce the arts of civilization and christianity into the most retired and gloomy wilds of Africa. *There* will be loved and venerated through all time the name and the virtues of GRANVILLE SHARP.

*(To be concluded in our next number.)*

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## Memoir of the Sufferings, &c. of the American Colonists.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 183.)

From this time to the 28th, messages were daily exchanged; but as all the professions of the chiefs declaratory of their pacific

wishes, were accompanied with a demand for presents, and explained in their true sense by their incessant efforts to engage more warriors from every part of the coast and interior, within their influence and knowledge, the preparations against a second attack went forward at the Cape, without intermission.

The 23d was devoted to "humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer, both on account of the recent success and losses, and the actual perilous state of the settlement." Two days afterwards, the most pressing wants of the people were relieved by a small purchase from a transient trader touching at the Cape. But no ammunition suitable for the large guns could be obtained.

It is due to the disinterestedness of a worthy foreigner, Capt. H. Brassey of Liverpool, who also touched on the 29th, to state, that unasked, and without the prospect of remuneration, he nearly exhausted his own stores to provide the sick and wounded with necessaries; and exerted an extensive influence acquired by a long acquaintance with the country chiefs, to disarm their hostility. But to no purpose. They had hired a strong reinforcement from the Gurrahs and Condoes; and re-united the warriors of the coast by means of new encouragements and new promises; most of which it appeared afterwards, depended on their obtaining possession of the property on the Cape. Of these particulars, secret intelligence was communicated to the Agent on the evening of the 29th of November; with the farther information, that the attack was to be renewed with double the number of warriors employed on the 11th, at day-light on the following morning.

The whole native force, accordingly, in the course of the night, removed to the peninsula, in two bodies; of which one took up its encampment at a small distance to the south-east of the settlement—the other division, occupied the camp in which the assailants of the 11th had passed the night preceding the first attack. But finding on the return of day-light that Capt. Brassey's ketch had not left her anchorage, they deferred the bloody business until the next day.

The Agent for the first time spent the whole night at the different posts; and had the satisfaction to perceive every man attentive to his duty, and every thing connected with the defence in a state of the most perfect preparation. The wood had been cleared for a considerable space about the town. The enemy in order to approach within musket shot of the works, was obliged

to place himself unsheltered, in the open field; and could advance upon no point which was not exposed to the cross-fire of two or more of the posts. The stockade for a distance on each side of all the several stations was rendered impenetrable to musket shot; and in every part afforded a shelter, behind which the defenders might indulge the confidence of being nearly secure—a point of the very first importance to be secured to the unpractised soldier.

November 30th was spent by the people in the order of action as it was known that the enemy in the neighbourhood were in the actual observation of all that passed within the lines. No pickets could be safely trusted during the ensuing night without the enclosure; but the men attached to the different stations were ranged along the stockade at five yards distance from each other, with orders to repair to their guns on the moment the alarm was given. The Agent, spent with the fatigue of waking two successive nights, had reclined at thirty minutes past four upon the light arms which he carried, when the onset was made. The works were attacked at the same moment on nearly opposite sides. The enemy's western division had made their way along the muddy margin of the river, under the protection of the bank, to the north-western angle of the palisade; when, on rising the bank so as to become visible from the western post, they had opened upon it a sudden and brisk fire; which was promptly and very steadily returned by the iron gun, supported by the reserve field piece from the centre. The assailants were repulsed with considerable loss. Ten minutes afterwards they renewed the onset, and forcing their way higher up the bank than before, contended with greater obstinacy, and suffered still more severely. A third attempt was made to carry this post; but with the same ill success.

On the opposite quarter the assault had commenced at the same moment, with still greater vigour. A large body had concealed themselves under a precipitous ledge of rocks forty yards distant; whence they crept nearly concealed from view, within the same number of feet of the station; when they suddenly rose, delivered their fire, and rushed forward with the utmost fury. At this moment the 2 gun battery was unmasked, and opened upon them with immediate effect. After a very few discharges, the body of the enemy having thrown themselves flat upon the earth, disappeared behind the rocks. Their marksmen had taken their stations behind projecting rocks, fallen trees, and large ant-hills, and

still kept up a constant and well directed fire; under the cover of which the main body rallied and returned to the attack not less than four times; and were as often repulsed by the well directed fire of the large guns; which was purposely reserved for those occasions.

The Agent at this moment perceiving the enemy in motion towards the right, under cover of a small eminence which favoured their design, proceeded to the southern post, which had not yet been engaged, and ordered it to open upon them the moment their movement brought them within the range of its guns. The order was punctually obeyed; which exposed a large number of the assailants to a galling cannonade both in front and flank, in a situation where their own arms could prove of no effectual service to them. The assault on the opposite side of the town had been already repulsed; and the signal for a general retreat immediately followed. This order was obeyed with such promptitude that the most entire silence succeeded, and every warrior disappeared almost instantaneously.

Not the most veteran troops could have behaved with more coolness, or shewn greater firmness than the settlers, on this occasion. Such had been their hardships, and distressing suspense for the last twenty days, that the first volley of the enemy's fire brought sensible relief to every breast; for it gave assurance that the time had arrived which was to put a period to their anxieties.

The final repulse of the assailants on the western quarter took place in seventy minutes from the commencement of the contest; the attack upon the eastern post, was prolonged ninety minutes; and of the two, was much the most obstinate and bloody. Three of the men serving at the guns of that station, Gardiner, Crook, and Tines, were very badly, the last mortally, wounded. The Agent received three bullets through his clothes, but providentially escaped unhurt. As the natives in close action load their muskets (which are of the largest calibre) with copper and iron slugs, often to the enormous measure of twelve inches, their fire is commonly very destructive. In this conflict of scarcely an hour and a half, the quantity of shot lodged in the paling, and actually thrown within the lines, is altogether incredible; and that it took effect in so few cases can only be regarded as the effect of the special guardianship of Divine Providence.

The number of assailants has been variously estimated; but can never be correctly ascertained. It is known to be much greater than of those engaged on the 11th. Their loss, although from the quantities of blood with which the field was found drenched, certainly considerable, was much less than in the former attack.

The Agent has often said that their plan of assault was the very best that they could have devised. It was certainly sustained and renewed with a resolution that would not disgrace the best disciplined troops. But they were not fully apprised of the power of well served artillery. None of the kings of this part of the coast are without cannon. But to load a great gun, is with them the business of half an hour: and they were seriously disposed to attribute to sorcery the art of charging and firing these destructive machines from 4 to 6 times in the minute.

On their final repulse it was evident that a general panic had seized upon the minds of the whole multitude. An hour afterwards several round shot were fired through the tops of the trees, in different directions parallel with different lines of the coast and banks of the river. In an instant, were seen hundreds of the fugitive wretches running from their hiding-places and throwing themselves into the water. On discovering the flash of a gun from the batteries, they would instantly disappear under water, till the danger from it was past.

But the general exhilaration produced by the prosperous issue of this effort on the part of the settlers, was greatly moderated by the alarming circumstance, that on an equal distribution of the residue of the shot, among all the guns, after the action, not three rounds remained to each! Three more of the most effective and useful men in the settlement had been lost from the ranks of its defenders. But a strong confidence in the superintending providence of the Most High was a sentiment which animated the bosoms of a majority of the survivors; and in their situation was the only rational source of hope that could be resorted to.

There was at this time little surgical knowledge, less skill, and absolutely no instruments—not a lancet or a probe in the settlement! Its little dispensary had no lack of James's powders, and stores of febrifuges—but for medicating broken bones, and extracting fragments of pot-metal and copper ship-bolts from the shattered limbs of the Colonists, there had been no provision whatever. A dull penknife and common razor were substituted in the

place of the first, and a priming wire made to answer the purpose of the last. But the sufferings of the wounded, several of whom retained in their limbs the poisonous and corroding metal which had caused their wounds, for months, was indescribable; and such as could not fail to impress upon a daily witness of them, a conviction of the rashness and cruelty of placing a company of men, subject to the casualties of war, beyond the reach of surgical aid.

A movement discovered near his station, on the following night, had induced the officer of the western post to open a brisk fire of musketry, accompanied with several discharges of the large guns. A circumstance apparently so accidental brought relief to the settlement.

The English colonial schooner, "Prince Regent," laden with military stores, and having as passengers, capt. Laing of the Royal African Light Infantry, and a prize crew commanded by midshipman Gordon, belonging to H. B. M. sloop of war *Driver*, six days from Sierra Leone, bound for Cape Coast, was at this moment in the offing, and a little past the Cape. So unusual a circumstance as a midnight cannonading on them, could not fail to attract notice; and the vessel lay by 'till morning. A Krooman by whom she was then boarded, gave intelligence of the situation of the settlement; who was immediately despatched ashore, with the generous offer of any assistance in the power of the schooner to afford.

On the following morning the officers came ashore—and in their characters as neutrals, kindly undertook, at the instance of the Agent, to explore and ascertain the future intentions of the enemy. An interview was procured with the chiefs without much difficulty—as their warriors had principally dispersed, their resources were entirely exhausted, and themselves overwhelmed with vexation and shame. They were easily induced, but with affected reluctance, to sign an instrument binding themselves to observe an unlimited truce with the colony; and make all their differences the subject of a future reference to the arbitration of the governor of Sierra Leone. It is unnecessary to observe that having no complaints to allege, they never afterwards recollected this provision for a reference. And it is equally superfluous to state, that from this time, the colony has been considered as entirely invincible to any native force that may be brought against



it. Providence wisely designed to render the early struggle of the Colonists, the means of securing a perpetual and profound tranquillity to their colony.

The death of the amiable and lamented Gordon, and of 8 out of 11 generous seamen, who, with him, volunteered their services to guarantee the truce settled by captain Laing, has been already communicated to the public in the 7th annual report of the Colonization Society. All these individuals fell victims to the climate within four weeks from the sailing of the "Prince Regent," on the 4th of December.

On the 8th of December came to an anchor a large privateer schooner under Colombian colours; to the commander of which capt. Welsey, and several of the officers, natives of the United States, the Agent in behalf of the colony, was laid under further, and very important obligations. By the aid of the proper mechanics obtained from this vessel, the settlement was put in a superior state of defence; and the sufferings of the wounded alleviated by the kind and assiduous attentions of a skilful surgeon. These friendly offices were continued at intervals, for four weeks.

The Agent's health gradually improving to this period had been injured by excessive exertion; and on the 16th of December entirely sunk under its weight. Medicines were productive of no beneficial effect—a fever slow in its approaches, in a few days became constant, and reduced him to a state of hopeless debility.

By one of those accidents which in their results are obviously seen to be the express appointments of an overruling Providence, a remedy of the most singular nature was administered, when probably no other means could have preserved his life. A self-taught French charlatan, arriving at the cape at this moment in a transient vessel, offered his medical services; which from despair on one hand, and a sense of duty on the other, the Agent accepted. A potion was exhibited of which one of the ingredients was a large spoonful of calomel!\* The Frenchman then proceeded on his voyage; and left the Agent to digest his medicine in the best way he could. Such was the weakness of his system as to be able neither to throw it off, nor to take it into the circulation, for five days. The crude poison was then avoided; and a distress-

\* The writer states a fact, which he leaves it to his medical readers to comment upon, and explain as they can.

ing salivation ensued; before which all other morbid symptoms disappeared.

It was the middle of February before he again became active in the affairs of the colony. Two of the captive children had within this period been given up in consideration of a small gratuity. Five were still in the hands of the natives; for whose release a very extravagant ransom was demanded, which it was steadily resolved not to pay.

If any redeeming trait had at this period appeared to soften and atone for the moral deformity of the native character, it certainly was perceived in their treatment of these helpless and tender captives. It was the first object of the captors to place them under the maternal care of several aged women; who in Africa, as in most countries, are proverbially tender and indulgent. These protectrices had them clad in their usual habits; and at an early period of the truce, sent to the colony to inquire the proper kinds of food, and modes of preparing it, to which the youngest had been accustomed. The affections of their little charge were so perfectly won in the four months of their captivity, as to oblige their own parents, at the end of that time, literally to tear away from their keepers several of the youngest, amidst the most affecting demonstrations of mutual attachment. This event did not occur until the 12th of March; when their gratuitous restoration was voted almost unanimously, in a large council of native chiefs.

The Agent, after partially recovering from this last and severest trial of a nearly ruined constitution, found the utmost exertion of the Colonists necessary to ensure the preservation of their property, health, and lives, through the approaching rains. Except the store-house, there was but one shingled roof, and frame house, in the settlement. Some of the cabins were without floors; and through the thatch of nearly all, the rain might easily find its way and descend in streams. Such is the description of the hovel occupied by himself at this time. The industrious and provident habits of a majority of the settlers, had been as an effect, in course, of the deranged and long neglected state of their private affairs, wholly subverted: and it required the application of a keener stimulus than could be found in the ordinary calls of duty and the prospect of remote advantages, to engage them in a course of diligent exertions. The store of provisions which had been long expected to be replenished by a shipment from the United States

was now consumed; and the want of any effective financial arrangements made by the principals of the establishment at home rendered it a matter of extreme difficulty with the Agent to make any purchases from occasional vessels. He had already assumed, from the necessity of the case, a larger pecuniary responsibility, than, as an individual, he could, under any other circumstances, justify to himself or others.

The productions of the country had been resorted to; and the few disposable goods remaining on hand were already exhausted in their purchase; when on the 12th of March the welcome intelligence of the arrival on the coast of the U. S. ship *Cyane*, R. T. Spence, Esq. was announced by a Krooman from Sierra Leone.

Capt. Spence arrived off Montserado on the 31st. By the most judicious and indefatigable exertions, that gentleman had caused the hulk of the long before condemned and dismantled schooner *Augusta* to be floated, and metamorphosed into a sea-worthy and useful vessel; on board of which he had placed a crew and a quantity of stores for the settlement, under the command of Lieut. Richard Dashiell. Not satisfied with this important service, on his arrival at the Cape, he caused the foundations of the Martello tower to be immediately laid, which, seconded by the disinterested zeal of his officers, he saw nearly completed; and the Agent's house rendered habitable, chiefly by the labour of his own crew, before the 20th of April.

These benevolent exertions have already been suitably acknowledged in the United States;\* and it can never be sufficiently regretted, that the sickness which had begun a fearful inroad upon the crew of that ship during her stay at the Cape, should have issued in the death of no less than 40 persons soon after her arrival in America.†

Dr. Dix, the surgeon of the *Cyane*, became the earliest victim of a too generous zeal for the advancement of the Colony. The tears of a grateful people fell into his grave, which they closed with their own hands over his ashes.

The amiable Seton deserves a more extended memorial. The bloom of youth had just ripened into the graces of manhood, and gave to a person naturally prepossessing, the higher ornament of

\* See the Annual Report of the Colonization Society.

† This was in part owing to a previous long cruise in the West Indies.

a benevolent and highly accomplished understanding. He perceived his services were needed by a Colony which had interested his heart; and he gave them. Becoming the voluntary companion and assistant of the solitary Agent, he saw the Cyane sail from the coast with composure, on the 21st of April. His conciliating manners, aided by a judicious procedure, deepened in the hearts of the Colonists, the impression first made by his disinterestedness. Seldom has the longest friendship power to cement a more cordial union, than had begun to rivet to this generous stranger the heart of the writer; when in the first week of May, he saw him assailed by the alarming symptoms of fever. The fatal issue of his attack has been already anticipated by the reader. He had long maintained the doubtful struggle—when on the 6th of June, five days after embarking on board of the Oswego, for the United States, he resigned his spirit to the God who gave it.

The arrival of the vessel just named, on the 24th of May of this year, with 66 additional emigrants from the middle states of America, with ample stores and a physician, by placing the colony at once in very altered and improved circumstances, naturally terminates the chain of events which it has been the compiler's object to connect in this narrative. For the subsequent progress of the Colony, there are now extant very ample details in an official form:—details which, if they have in them less to interest the feelings, are of a character in a much higher degree to gratify the wishes and confirm the hopes of its friends.

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## Intelligence.

*Manumissions.*—The Rev. Samuel D. Hoge, formerly of Virginia, now of Ohio, has recently manumitted his only slave, a valuable young man, who is to be sent either to Liberia or Ohio.

Miss Patsey Morris, of Louisa county, Virginia, lately deceased, has liberated all her slaves (about sixteen) with a request that they should be sent to Liberia. She has also left five hundred dollars to fit them out and defray the expenses of their passage.

A very respectable clergyman of Virginia, has also expressed his desire, to transfer his slaves (about thirty in number) to the African colony.

A pious lady in the same state, has likewise determined to liberate twelve or fifteen slaves, and aid in their transportation and settlement in Africa.

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*Resolutions in Vermont.*—At the close of the public exercises of the evening of the commencement at Middlebury, F. S. Key, Esq. of Georgetown, D. C. member of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, having been introduced to the assembly, stated at some length the designs and prospects of that society; when the Hon. Chauncey Langdon was called to the chair, and the Rev. Chester Wright appointed Secretary of the meeting. The following resolutions were then offered by Peter Starr, Esq. and adopted:

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is an institution most benevolent in its character and design, and worthy of the liberal patronage of the American people.

*Resolved*, That the Auxiliary Colonization Society of this state is deserving of the encouragement of the people of the state, and that efficient measures ought to be adopted to increase its funds.

*Resolved*, That the taking up of collections in the several worshipping assemblies, is a convenient, and altogether unexceptionable method of raising money for charitable purposes.

*Resolved*, That this meeting recommend that all worshipping assemblies, who have not contributed during the present summer to the funds of the Vermont Colonization Society, would contribute for that purpose on some Sabbath previous to the first of October next, that the sums contributed may be forwarded to the Treasurer at Montpelier, by the several members of the Legislature; and that the ministers of such assemblies be requested to put forward this benevolent work.

*Resolved*, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman of this meeting and countersigned by the clerk, and published in the *National Standard* with a request that they be published in all the newspapers printed in this state.

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*Lynchburg Colonization Society.*—The annual meeting of the Lynchburg Auxiliary Colonization Society, was held in that town on the 26th ult. The meeting was opened by prayer, and the report of the board of managers and that of the treasurer were then read; after which, an address was delivered by John D. Urquhart, Esq. A collection was taken up to increase the funds of the society, and the officers for the ensuing year were chosen. According to the report, this infant society already numbers one hundred and nineteen members, paying annually one dollar each, and one life subscriber who has paid twenty dollars. These subscriptions, aided by a few donations, collections, &c. have raised the funds of the society during the last year to one hundred and ninety three dollars and eight cents.

## Missionary for Africa.

The following extract will show the spirit in which a highly respected clergyman of the Methodist church, proposes to enter upon missionary labours in the African Colony. No christian, we think, can peruse it without deep and sympathising emotion. May the sentiments of its excellent author soon pervade the religious community, and call forth exertions which shall be joyfully felt and thankfully remembered through all ages among the wretched millions of a dark and cheerless continent.

"I have had a communication from my Bishop, in which he highly approves of what he terms "the great and excellent design of the African Colonization Society," and further in reference to myself, says, "the more I reflect, the more I am delighted with your undertaking." I have also had personal communication with my friend, the Rev. Mr. B. of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a warm advocate of the design, having been a pupil to the excellent Finley, whose name lives in the memory of every friend of injured Africa. From him I have received important documents, which, in their general tenor, confirm me in my original resolve, and solemnly impress me with the conviction, that this cause is of God, and shall stand. Our missionary society is involved in considerable debt, and the openings in the Indian enterprize cannot be supplied for want of means. Is it likely, under these circumstances, that the missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church would send a missionary to your Colony? I think not. I will then, sirs, state my views in a few words. Providence has given me a little over my present wants, and that little I devote to God and this cause. I have the means of supporting myself a year or two in your Colony, provided you give me a free passage in one of your vessels. In that fatal climate I need not calculate upon long life, but if it should please God to spare me many years, the same Almighty being who calls me to this work will provide for my wants, either from my people in the Colony, or from my family at home, who are sufficiently competent. I desire to go as a volunteer in this work, unfettered by the plans of any missionary society. I am a *firm Methodist* in principle, and intend to preach its doctrines to the full, and maintain the general principles of its discipline, so far as consistent with the usages of the colony. Heaven has blessed me with a vigorous constitution, and active habits. I can bear fatigue with most men. Indeed, if my health had been broken, I durst not have adventured on this perilous work. I have a choice library of English divinity, comprising about 300 volumes of standard works, which will be a legacy for the Colony when my bones moulder in the dust. And if it should please God to honour me by raising up a few young African preachers to carry the Gospel into the interior, it will be my crown of rejoicing through a vast eternity."

## Kusiusho School.

A committee of the *African Education Society* in New-Jersey, have addressed a circular letter to the public explaining the origin of their institution and its object, and soliciting funds in aid of the same. The preparation of free coloured children and youth for usefulness in Africa, is a prominent purpose which the trustees of this school will aim to accomplish, and we hope on this account, if on no other, it will receive general countenance and a liberal support. The committee state, that the Kusiusho Fund originally left by an illustrious foreigner in the hands of Mr. Jefferson, to be employed in liberating and educating African slaves, and which was confided by the lamented executor to Benjamin L. Lcar, Esq. of this city, will be appropriated for the benefit of their school, and they express the hope that the "collected fruits of benevolence from the whole American people, will not prove less than the free will offering of a single Polander, to the captives of Ethiopia enslaved in our land." The available amount of the fund left by gen. Kusiusho, is at this time about thirteen thousand dollars, and the trustees wish to raise from public charity an equal sum. The contribution of *eight dollars* is necessary to constitute a subscriber a member of the Society. "The board of trustees intend to rent a small farm—and to connect the literary pursuits of the school with agricultural and mechanical employments. They hope to secure the services of a pious practical farmer; a mechanic of like character, and at least one judicious well qualified preceptor of the school and superintendent of the whole establishment. Donations for this institution should be remitted to Joseph C. Hornblower, Esqr. Newark, New-Jersey, secretary and treasurer of the Board.

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## The Present Object.

The Managers of the American Colonization Society, propose immediately to fit out an expedition for Liberia. Nothing can be more important to their enterprize. The disposition to emigrate is rapidly increasing and should be encouraged; the public eye is directed favourably towards our object and should not be permitted to withdraw itself; by strengthening the Colony we add to its prosperity and extend its influence, and *timely effort* may accomplish the good with little hazard of misfortune. We earnestly invite our friends, therefore, to co-operate with us, at this time, and solicit them individually and unitedly to make prompt remit-

tances of their donations to the Treasurer of this Society. Shall our institution be left unable to act (without great embarrassment) when a measure of such immense importance demands adoption? Will not the Auxiliary Societies renew their exertions, and with one voice say the means shall be furnished? Will not *each one* who peruses this article, and prays for our success, raise a small sum from the circle of his friends, and by a *seasonable* appropriation augment tenfold its value? Our importunity will be pardoned by the friends of Africa. The expenses of the last year have been unusually great, and our funds are therefore inadequate to the purpose which every imaginable motive urges us to fulfil. Our confidence is placed where it has not been, and will not be disappointed.

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## Donations

TO THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, *from*  
*April 1st, to the 20th September, 1826, viz:*

Collection in Dutch Church, Kinderhook, New York, on 4th July, 1826—received from P. Van Buren, Esq.	-	-	\$ 20 00
Do. in Rev. Doctor Balch's church, Georgetown, D. C. August 4th, 1826,	-	-	12 90
Do. in Rev. Mr. Hawley's do. Washington,	-	-	10 08
Do. in Alexandria, in different societies,	-	-	33 30
Do. in Barnes's church, Presbyterian, Morristown, New-Jersey,	-	-	43 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Suckasunny Plains, New-Jersey.	-	-	
These two last from P. A. Johnson, Esq. Morristown, N. J.	-	-	10 00
Do. in Rev. George Jenkins's Shiloh Church, Milton, Penn.	-	-	7 00
Do. in 7th Presbyterian church, Philad. per Rev. Mr. Engles,	-	-	51 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Norristown, Montgomery county, Penn.	-	-	4 00
Do. in Rev. William Johnson's church, Sasso, Cayuga county, New-York,	-	-	8 00
Do. in church at Parssippamy, N. J. per G. D. Brinkerhoff, Esq.	-	-	70 00
Do. in Rev. Sylvester Burtz's society at Great Barrington, Mass. per D. Leavenworth, Esq.	-	-	15 00
Do. at Tabernacle Meeting House, Salem, per Michael Sheppard, Esq.	-	-	70 00
Carried forward,			\$ 354 28



Brought forward, \$ 354 28

Collections in the Methodist Episcopal church, Light street, Baltimore,	
per Rev. Mr. Waugh—sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Bascom,	184 12
Do. at Presbyterian church, Carlisle, Penn. at a union prayer meeting, composed of members and ministers of different protestant denominations in Carlisle, per Rev. Geo. Duffield, jr.	36 34
Do. in Rev. Mr. Baker's church, Washington,	9 83
Do. in Deerfield, Mass. per Hon. S. C. Allen,	24 12
Do. in Rev. Mr. Allen's church, Washington,	12 68
Do. in Rev. Mr. Gray's church, Georgetown,	15 00
Do. in Reformed Dutch church, at the corner of Green and Houston streets, New-York,	12 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Fayetteville, N. C. Rev. Mr. Hamner,	20 00
Do. in Rev. Mr. Douglass's church, Milton, N. C.	8 00
Do. in Leacock Presbyterian congregation, Lancaster, Penn. per John Barr, Esq.	6 00
Do. in St. George's church, New-York, per Rev. James Milner,	92 81
Do. in Rev. John Burtz's Presbyterian church, Salem, N. J.	4
Do. by do. for Repository,	6 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Abington, near Philadelphia, by Rev. Mr. Steel,	6 00
Do. in First Baptist church, Washington, per Rev. O. B. Brown,	12 00
Do. at Rockville, Md. by Rev. Jn. H. Jones,	12 00
Do. at Jonesborough, Tenn.	44 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Northumberland, Pa. Rev. W. N. Smith, pastor,	10 50
Do. in Second Presbyterian church, Cincinnati, Ohio, Rev. D. Root, pastor,	15 00
Do. in Associate Church, Cambridge, New York, Rev. Mr. Bullien—per Rev. N. S. Prime,	17 00
Do. in Episcopal Church, Hagerstown, Md. from F. Anderson, Esq.	18 62
Do. from a few Friends by do.	6 38
Do. in Marietta, Ohio, by D. Putnam, Esq.	30 00
Do. in Athens, Ohio,	15 00
Do. in Cumberland street Baptist Church, Norfolk, by Rev. Noah Davis,	7 50
Do. in Episcopal Church, Rev. Mr. McGuire, at Fredericksburg, Va. by Wm. Gray, Esq.	10 56
Do. in Penyan, Yates County, N. York, per Ira Gould, Esq.	15 00
Repository at different times,	198 67

Carried forward,

\$1,203 41

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$ 1,203 41
Auxiliary Society, Shepherdstown, Va.	- - - -	100 00
Do. Loudoun County, Va.	- - - -	50 00
Do. Raleigh, North Carolina,	- - - -	150 00
Proceeds of five of Dr. McMurray's Sermons,	- - - -	1 00
From H. Beecher, Esq. of Livonia, Livingston County, New York,	- - - -	
per Robert Ralston, Esq.	- - - -	5 00
Legacy by John Manly, of Hartford, Connecticut, a colored man,	- - - -	200 00
From the Winder Lodge of Freemasons, Baltimore,	- - - -	20 00
From Richard Harrison, Esq. of Washington,	- - - -	20 00
From Rev. Jno. McDonald, of Romney, Va. to constitute him a life member,	- - - -	30 00
From John McDowell, of do. for do.	- - - -	30 00
From a friend to the Society, per Mr. Gurley,	- - - -	8 00
From a Lady on her death bed per do.	- - - -	2 00
From W. L. U. and D. H. M. two small boys in Virginia,	- - - -	1 71
From Robert W. James, of Indiantown, South Carolina, a 4th July contribution,	- - - -	20 00
From two friends in Greenfield, Mass. per Hon S. C. Allen,	- - - -	88
From Miss Eliza Young, Baltimore, per Rev. Mr. Henshaw,	- - - -	5 00
From the Liberian Society of Essex County, Va. at Mrs. Garnett's School,	- - - -	35 00
From Prest. Day of New Haven, Connecticut,	- - - -	5 00
From the Methodist Episcopal church, at Norfolk, Va. by the Rev. Philips Anderson,	- - - -	15 26
From the Presbyterian church, at do.	- - - -	44 29
From the Protestant Episcopal church, at do. of Rev. John H. Wingfield,	- - - -	10 00
Collection in Rev. John H. Bausman's church, Brownsville, Va. per Rev. Mr. Hawley,	- - - -	15 00
Do. in Baptist congregation, Cincinnati, Ohio, per M. S. Johnson, Esq. Treasurer,	- - - -	11 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Pittsgrove, New-Jersey, per Rev. George W. Janvier,	- - - -	13 00
Do. in German Reformed church, at Harrisburgh, Pa. per Rev. John Winebrenner,	- - - -	12 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, at do. of Rev. W. R. Delvit. These two last by Wm. Graydon, Esq.	- - - -	25 00
Do. in First Presbyterian church, Baltimore, per S. Brown, Esq.	- - - -	56 37
Do. in Cicero, Onondaga county, New-York, per J. Cody, Esq.	- - - -	4 00
Do. at a religious meeting, at Lee, Massachusetts, per Rev. Alvan Hyde,	- - - -	6 00
Do. in Sheffield, Massachusetts, per Rev. J. Bradford,	- - - -	10 00
<i>Carried forward,</i>		\$ 2,108 92

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$ 2,108 92
Collection in Chapel, Frederick Parish, Va. per Rev. Mr. Meade,		60 00
Do. in Presbyterian Dutch reformed church, Albany, N. York,		79 44
Do. at Union Village, Washington county, New-York,		14 64
Do. at Nelson, Portage county, Ohio, per Benjamin Feun,		5 32
Do. in Presbyterian church, Aurora, Portage county, Ohio, per Rev. J. Leward,	- - - - -	8 64
Do. in Rev. Js. Gallagher's church, per N. Fanie, Esq.		4 30
Do. in St. Anne's church, Annapolis,	- - -	18 00
Do. in the congregations of Salem and Walnut Hill, Ky. per Rev. Mr. Stewart,	- - - - -	13 25
Do. in Pine Creek and Green Island congregation of New- Jersey, per Rev. John H. Guier,	- - - - -	5 00
Do. in Presbyterian church, Romney, Va. per Rev. W. H. Forte,		20 00
Do. in First Presbyterian church, Lexington, Ky. per Hon. H. Clay,	- - - - -	25 69
Do. in M <sup>c</sup> Chords, do. do. do.—per do.		28 19
Do. in Bethel church, Fayette county, Ky. per do.		9 12
From the steward of the Methodist church, Norfolk, Va. per J. Mc- Phail, Esq.	- - - - -	23 83
From the Auxiliary Society, Kinderhook, N. Y. per Sam. Hawly, Esq.		10 00
From do. at Ghent, New-York, per do.		5 00
From do. at Easton, 'ary'd, per W. Harrison, Esq.		100 00
From do. at Albany, N. Y per E. F. Bachus, Esq.		31 81
From do. at Washington, D. C. per W. A. Bradley,		11 00
From do. at Frederick'g, Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq.		35 00
From do. at Princeton, N. J.		64 72
From do. at Richmond and Manchester, Va. per B. Brand, Esq.	- - - - -	127 00
From Mrs. Janet Ligan, of D. C.	- - - - -	5 00
From the citizens of Newark, New-Jersey, per James C. Hornblow- er, Esq.	- - - - -	60 00
From Miss Judith Lomax, of Fred. Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq.		5 00
From Miss Searle of Georgetown, D. C.	- - - - -	2 00
From George Shaw, of Annapolis, subscription to Repository,		2 00
From a family belonging to the congregation of Rev. Ed. McGuire, Fredericksburg,	. . . . .	10 00
From Wells & Redfield, New-York, per Thomas Orme,		52 25
From some ladies of Presbyterian congregation, New-York, (Murray street) to constitute the Rev. W. W. Snodgrass, a life member,	. . . . .	30 00
Collections in Onondaga County, New York, per Rev. Geo. Upfold, of New York,	- - - - -	27 00
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Wheeling, Va. per W. Wylie, Esq.		8 00
	<i>Carried forward.</i>	\$ 3,010 12

		<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$3,010 12
Collections in New York, per Rev. R. R. Gurley, viz. Subscriptions to the New York Auxiliary Colonization Society:—			
Col. Henry Rutgers,	- - - -	100	00
George Gallagher, Esq.	- - - -	50	00
Joel Post,	- - - -	20	00
W. B. Crosby,	- - - -	20	00
Cash,	- - - -	4	00
Anson G. Phelps,	- - - -	50	00
Arthur Tappan,	- - - -	50	00
Mr. Nitchie,	- - - -	20	00
James Douglass,	- - - -	20	00
Collected in Presbyterian church, Spring street, N. Y.		23	00
Also, the following collections, collected in the Rev. Mr.			
Field's Church, Stockbridge, Massachusetts,		20	00
Do. in Rev. G. Hayden's, Egremont, do		4	00
From the College and Congregation in Williamstown,			
Mass. collected on the 4th July, per Dr. Griffin,		33	10
From the Rev. Mr. Judd, Bloomfield, New Jersey, col-			
lected July 4th,		21	00
Collected in Presbyterian Church, Esperance, N. Y. July 16,			
Do. Presby'n Church, Fishkill, N. Y. by Rev. Mr. Dewing,		6	00
Received from Rev. Mr. Silliman, Virginia,		5	00
Do. Miss Beers, New York,		1	00
Two Friends,		1	00
Arthur Tappan paid for the Repository five years,		10	00
Collected on 4th July, in Goshen, Orange County, New			
York, per Dr. Fisk,		14	00
			<hr/>
			475 35
Do. in Zanesville, Ohio, per Gen. Isaac Van Horne,		16	62
Do. in 1st Presbyterian church, Newark, N. J. per P. C. Hay, esq.		22	40
Do. in 2d do. do. per do.		50	00
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Mason County, Ky. per Lorrin An-			
draws, Esq.		5	00
Do. at Jefferson, Astabula County, Ohio,		6	00
Do. in N. Harmony Church, Greenville, Ten. per Rev. D. Coffin,		12	50
Do. in Youngstown, Ohio, and neighborhood, per Rev. N. Har-			
ner, by R. Ralston, Esq.		12	50
Do. in Presbyterian Church, Paris, Ky. by Hon. Henry Clay,		30	00
Do. in Church of Rev. D. McConaugh, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania,		12	00
Donation by Rev. G. Blackburn, Lexington, Ky.		26	25
Collections by David Hale, Esq. Boston,		558	74
From the Auxiliary Society, at Taneytown, Maryland,		39	00
From do. at Hillsborough, North Carolina,		35	00
From Mangohick Union Colonization Society, in King William coun-			
ty, Va. per Wm. Gwathney, Esq. Treasurer,		50	00
			<hr/>
			\$4,361 48

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]                      OCTOBER, 1826.                      [NO. VIII.

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REVIEW OF THE  
**Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharp.**

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 211.—CONCLUDED.)

“In the arduous attempt” (says Mr. Hoare) “to found the Colony of Sierra Leone, if we compare the great expenses, necessarily incurred, with the slender fortune of the founder, it seems difficult to account for the means by which he was so long enabled to prosecute his benevolent enterprise.” The compensation for his services in the Ordnance office, must have been soon expended. In 1780, however, five hundred pounds were left to him by a relation; and in 1783, on the death of his beloved brother, James, he assumed the settlement of his extensive business, and while occupied with it, occasionally, for six years, received a liberal stipend for his attentions.

The funds thus realized, are thought by his biographer, to have been inadequate to the expenses of his philanthropic plans, and from this, as well as several notices in his correspondence, it is concluded, that he was not unfrequently sustained by the unostentatious charity of his friends.

VOL. II.—No. 8.

The kindness and generosity of his brothers, to which we have already alluded, is beautifully illustrated by the following extract:

"From the liberal friendship of his family he derived a further power of occasional exertions. The generous tender of a constant provision in the houses of his brothers, William and James, has before been mentioned. An annual sum was at first placed at his disposal, and to this act of kindness they soon afterwards added the refined attention of making over to him, from their own funds, a fixed sum in *capital*, instead of income, in order to preclude any feelings of conditional dependence on their bounty. This capital could be employed in aid of his plans; and there is reason to believe, from what he says of the diminution of his private fortune, that he devoted a large part of it to the exigencies of his undertaking."

At the commencement of Mr. Sharp's enterprise of African colonization, in 1787, his means were in some measure increased, by a legacy from his friend Mrs. Oglethorpe, of the manor of Fairsted, in Essex, which he was recommended to settle in his lifetime to charitable uses after his death, being expressly enjoined, however, to reserve the possession and profits of the estate to himself during his life. The income derived from this bequest, is believed to have been expended on the African settlement. "*These*," observes Mr. Hoare, "were his whole resources. Regularity, economy, and parsimonious self-denial, must have supplied the rest."

The trust confided to him by Mrs. Oglethorpe, Mr. Sharp endeavoured most sacredly to fulfil. He proposed to the Corporation of London the establishment of a general asylum for the poor, and subjoined an offer of the first reversion of the manor of Fairsted, on such conditions of the gift as he thought most conducive to his purposes, but it was not deemed prudent to incur the necessary expense, until the gift could be actually realized; and his design was defeated.

The benevolence and integrity of Mr. Sharp, brought his services into great demand, and applications were frequently made to him not only of a public, but also of a private nature. During the agitations in France, he corresponded with Brissot, Lafayette, Roland, and others, always expressing his opinions, even on the most important subjects, with that sincerity and candour for which he was so eminently distinguished.

To the immortal honour of having first, as a society, prosecuted measures for the abolition of the slave trade, the Friends are justly entitled. Before the middle of the last century they commenced

their exertions and continued them with unabated earnestness and growing influence until the formation in May. 1797, of that memorable committee, which, selecting Mr. Wilberforce as their representative and advocate in parliament, after unintermitted labours for twenty years, saw their purpose consummated in the entire prohibition of this traffic by the laws of the British empire. From the first hour of the existence of this committee, Mr. Sharp was by general sentiment regarded and addressed as chairman, but his extreme modesty induced him to decline the honour, and even when overruled by a resolution in which the office was assigned to him as "*father of the cause in England*," he still avoided the least show of pre-eminence amongst his associates.

This appointment, he was aware, devolved upon him new duties, and he cheerfully discharged them, attending regularly (when in town) every meeting, and signing as chairman the official papers of the committee, but in no one instance for twenty years could he be prevailed on to take the chair. "Conscious (says Mr. Clarkson) that he engaged in the cause of his fellow creatures, solely upon a sense of duty as a christian, he seemed to suppose, either that he had done nothing extraordinary to merit distinction, or to have been fearful lest the acceptance of it should bring a stain upon the motive, on which alone he undertook it."\*

The following correspondence farther illustrates the humility which so beautifully adorned his character.

*To Granville Sharp, Esq.*

MUNCASTER HOUSE, 18th Feb. 1791.

SIR,—A print of our most admirable and excellent friend Mr. Wilberforce, is nearly finished, from a picture he was so good as to sit for at my solicitation; and as I do not know to whom, with so much public propriety and gratification, it could possibly be dedicated, as to you, sir, and the society for the abolition of the slave trade, I beg leave to solicit your permission that it may be so. I felt it to be an attention due on my part to apply for your approbation, before I give the order for its being done.

With the fullest esteem,

MUNCASTER.

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\* Mr. Clarkson in another place observes, that he had attended above seven hundred committees and sub-committees with Mr. Sharp, and yet, though sometimes but few were present, he always seated himself at the end of the room; choosing rather to serve the glorious cause in humility, through conscience, than in the character of a distinguished individual.

*Granville Sharp in reply.*

27th August, 1791.

MY LORD,—The gentlemen of the committee concur in approving your lordship's proposal for the dedication of Mr. Wilberforce's portrait. As for myself, I have so sincere a respect for the general character and abilities of Mr. Wilberforce, that I cannot think myself worthy to be mentioned expressly by name in the dedication of his picture, but only in my office of chairman, "To the chairman and committee, &c. &c." though perhaps there would be more propriety in dedicating it merely "to the society," or perhaps "to the several societies assembled throughout the kingdom, &c. &c."

It is somewhat remarkable, that in the year 1776, (that year rendered glorious in our annals by the Declaration of American Independence,) David Hartley, (son of the eminent metaphysician) made a motion in the house of commons, the purport of which was that the slave trade was contrary to the laws of God and to the rights of man, and that through the efforts of Anthony Benezet and other Friends in our country, the year 1787, which gave origin to the committee for the abolition of the slave trade, left not a single slave in the possession of any acknowledged Quaker in America. The motion of Mr. Hartley entirely failed of support; and its memory scarcely survived, when twelve years after, the committee just mentioned applied themselves to the accomplishment of the noble object for which it was intended.

The establishment of an association to prosecute an object which had so long occupied his thought, was a joyous event to Mr. Sharp, yet the limitation of its efforts to the abolition of the slave trade, did not equal the conceptions of his ardent and comprehensive mind. He sought for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, and was reluctant to compromise it for any inferior good. During a discussion at one of the earliest meetings of the committee, "Granville (says Mr. Clarkson) "stood *singly* for including the abolition of slavery in the title of the society, and delivered his protest against the proceedings of his associates, in the energetic manner usual to him when roused on the subject with a loud voice a powerful emphasis, and both hands lifted up towards heaven." But being overruled by the judgment of others, from that hour, he aimed with his utmost ability to effect that *part* which he perceived could be undertaken with general consent. In this instance, (his biographer observes) his distinctive character



was strongly marked; "extensive in his ideas, enthusiastic in his conceptions; vehement in his efforts; temperate, prudent, earnest in his performances."

"*Melius est omnia mala pati, quam malo consentire*" was regarded by Mr. Sharp as an indispensable maxim of the English constitution, and the sentiment it contains he continued to urge upon influential minds, yet his exertions to do good were never relaxed because he could not secure its general adoption.

His labours were no longer solitary, his spirit was imbibed by thousands, and the responsibility which had been so long and so well sustained by him alone, is now shared by others equally ardent in their feelings and firm in their resolution. From the time when the committee were appointed he united his efforts as far as possible with theirs, avoiding all individual distinction, yet exhibiting his habitual industry and unabated interest.

We have formerly alluded to the intrepid and truly christian spirit, in which Mr. Sharp frequently addressed the bishops of the church of England, in behalf of the distressed Africans, and at the suggestion of the committee, he now renewed his appeals to secure their aid for the abolition of the slave trade. He wished that the English clergy should have the honor of this good work. We give the following extracts from his letters to members of the house of lords:

"As very few peers, at the present moment, make a majority in the house of lords, and as our interested opponents will probably be very assiduous in urging the attendance of the lords that are inclined to favour them, the committee think it of great importance to our cause, that the *spiritual lords* in particular, on whose humanity and religious attention to this business they place the highest confidence, should be aware that an accidental absence from a thin house may occasion the loss of this desirable bill, and therefore I humbly presume to suggest to your grace, that the bishops who may happen to be prevented from attending when it is carried into the house of lords, should be requested to leave their proxies with your grace, or with any bishop friendly to our cause, who may be able to attend its progress. This plan I have ventured to submit particularly to your grace's consideration, because no other peer can so easily or so properly promote it as yourself, if you think it right. As to myself, it is not merely the abolition of the slave trade for which I am anxiously solicitous, but also, very particularly, that this great question of humanity and justice may be principally supported and carried by a decided majority of the bishops for the honour of the church of England; because the eyes of the whole nation, including every other religious persuasion are also equally intent upon the same subject, and expect a just decision."

In his letter to the lord bishop of London, we find the following passage:

"I need not urge to your lordship the scriptural doctrine that the throne is established by righteousness, or the plain result, that no throne can be durably established without it; but I have reason to urge, (according to an ancient maxim of our constitutional law, *Ordo Episcoporum est robur reipublicæ*) that your sacred order has really more effectual power to restore and maintain that necessary *saving righteousness*, for the security and peace of your country, by firm and united remonstrances or protests, from time to time, against every infringement of the two first foundations of English law (natural and revealed religion) than any other order or human power in the kingdom; whereby is incurred, indeed (whenever such warnings are omitted) a most awful personal responsibility on your order more than on any other.

"If this truly loyal measure of protesting against the public iniquities of the state, which I earnestly recommend to those eminent persons whose sacred dignity and venerable character peculiarly qualify them for giving the most effectual warnings of God's judgments, be much longer delayed, our annual public fasts (while our most notorious national iniquities are suffered year after year to pass uncensured) must bear much too exact a resemblance to those obnoxious fasts described by the princely prophet Isaiah, as so many additional provocations to the vengeance of the Almighty! for we are expressly required even in that very remonstrance of Isaiah to "undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free." Let us also remember the remarkable testimony of the ancient bishops of Ireland, at the council of Armagh—alas! when it was too late to avert the evil which had fallen on their nation."

In the prosecution of the enterprise of the committee, Mr. Sharp corresponded with distinguished foreigners, both in America and France, particularly with Dr. Franklin, Brissot, Larthenas, and gen. Lafayette. The last of these individuals, by his friend the Chevalier de Fernant, signified his earnest desire to establish a society in France, on the same principles with that in England, and expressed his hope that the consent of both countries might be given to the abolition of the infamous traffic. These two strangers were enrolled on the society's list of honorary and corresponding members.

It is well known that the committee for the abolition of the slave trade, after years of anxious and arduous exertion, supported by Mr. Wilberforce, and others of the most powerful statesmen of the age, accomplished their object; and when the welcome tidings were brought to Mr. Sharp, he is said to have immediately fallen on his knees in devout gratitude to his Creator. "On this record," (says Mr. Hoare,) "it is fit to add the comment of one who was

best qualified to judge of the emotions of his heart, and of the action to which it is probable that they gave birth"—“I do not doubt that he did so, but it must have been in the *deepest retirement*.”

“The novel example of a man, who, combatting with unsparing severity every deviation from the established church of England, had yet refused to accept of a valuable preferment in that church; and who asserted, on all public occasions, the sovereign and indispensable authority of Christ and the scriptures, over the politics of states and princes; could not fail to co-operate powerfully with other moral causes, which at that time turned back the reflecting part of Europe from the contagion of infidelity and atheism, to the more salutary paths of religious order.”

In 1780, the first *Bible Society* was formed, and was liberally supported by Mr. Sharp. But christian benevolence was not satisfied with this institution, and a proposition for the establishment of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, was first made by a Baptist minister in 1802, and carried into effect in 1804. Mr. Sharp's name stood first on the circular address by which the meeting was convened, that laid the foundations of this illustrious institution, and over its deliberations he was unanimously called to preside. “Perhaps (says Mr. Owen) it would not have been possible to find, throughout the British dominions, a man in whom the qualities requisite for the first chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society, were so completely united as they were in this venerable philanthropist. A churchman in faith, in charity a Universalist, he stamped upon the institution, while it was yet tender, those characters which suited its constitution and its end; and while he made it respected by the sanction of his name, he improved it by the influence of his example.” With the same benevolent spirit and christian enterprise, Mr. Sharp engaged in various other charitable and religious associations. The *Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts*, the *London Society for promoting christianity among the Jews*, and the *African Institution*, were all honoured by his approbation and efforts. Of the last of these institutions which has already produced important effects throughout Europe and the world, he was chosen a director, and regularly at each meeting discharged the duties of his office, even to the last but one, previous to his decease.

Thus far we have seen the extraordinary subject of these memoirs contending for political righteousness, before nobles, kings,

and nations, and by holy, faithful and unwearied exertions for the rights of man and the truth of God, writing his name immortal in the records of philanthropy and religion. We have heard this Apostle of freedom sounding his awful warnings in the ears of England, and seen her might aroused at his call, to break the shackles of an oppressed and bleeding race. Her eloquent statesmen, her sacred prelates, her venerable peers, unite to cleanse the robes of this Island Queen from the blood of Africa, and to implore the whole christian world no longer to mock the miseries of her afflicted children. To accomplish an end so momentous, we have seen him exerting all the powers of his youth, and resting not in age. For this no effort appeared too arduous, no sacrifice too great. Nothing checked him in his course: and his path, like that of the sun, was effulgent with glory.

We may now descend from the theatre of his public usefulness, and view Mr. Sharp in retired and domestic scenes. In these he peculiarly delighted, and had the duties which belonged to them, occupied exclusively his attention, they could not have been more scrupulously or faithfully performed. "We may be surprised, (says his biographer) to learn that to concerns of a domestic nature, he even allotted a preference above all other occupations and engagements." His cheerfulness was uniform and remarkable, and with the utmost facility could he lay aside the cares of life, to unite in social conversation, and even to join in the amusements of childhood. "How eagerly (says Mr Hoare) did the little females of his brothers' families, watch the opening of his study door, as the signal for their mirth and play. How gaily did the sound of his tabor and pipe set their nimble feet in motion; or his ready pencil delight them by delineations of birds, beasts and other familiar objects. Of the company of young persons in general, he was indeed peculiarly fond; and he behaved to them with a kindness, which nature had poured into his breast with an overflowing measure, and which met its full return from their cheerful and artless feelings." Nothing could exceed the fraternal tenderness and assiduity, with which his affectionate brothers and sisters found him ministering to them, when in sickness and distress, or the untiring solicitude which he evinced to promote the happiness of all his relatives and friends. Several of those most beloved were taken from him by the hand of death. He watched their decay with trembling anxiety, soothed the

pains of dissolution and wept over their remains with indescribable emotion. "Hearing of his brother William's illness, he questioned the messenger. He strove to discredit the report. It seemed that he could not bear to be convinced that his beloved brother's life was in imminent danger. He flew to visit him, but a second despatch assured him of his death. God's will, he exclaimed, be done, and shed tears copiously. A long silence ensued, till turning to his companion, he opened his bible (a Hebrew one) and translated several sentences from the Psalms suited to their distress, in language to which the solemnity of the moment gave a most impressive and affecting expression." "Throughout the whole of his severe trials, his sorrow was deep and silent, tempered with resignation, and with a perfect composure, which solaced and strengthened those who wept around him; his conversation dwelling more on the blessings which were still accorded to them, than on those which were withdrawn."

"In his brothers' families, he was an example of the most kind and considerate behaviour towards the domestics of every class, who were as assiduous and as anxious to serve him, as he was careful to avoid giving them unnecessary trouble."

In his universal benevolence, even the inferior animals were included. When a boy, he would select from among them some favourite, and secure its attachment and contribute to its happiness. He was fond of visiting the *Menagerie* in the Tower, and studied with much observation the peculiar dispositions of each animal. "Nothing (observes Mr. Hoare,) whether animate or inanimate, escaped his notice, admiration or benevolence."

In the peculiar duties of religion, he was unostentatious but truly firm, humble and reverential; morning and evening he perused the holy scriptures. He was a regular attendant upon the worship of God, and strictly observed all the ordinances of the church.

His private charity was no less remarkable than that which shone so brightly in his public deeds. "He appears never to have refused, or neglected any application made to him of a charitable nature."

His sensibility to the miseries of his fellow creatures increased with age, and during his infirm health, when he last appeared in public, the doors of his chambers were thronged with mendicants

to whose intreaties he became a prey, and for whom he deprived himself of every article by which they could be benefitted.

Mr. Sharp was in youth the intimate friend of Sir Wm. Jones. In his last interview with this eminent man, he thus addressed him: "We have talked together on many subjects; we have not yet spoken on the most material one, *our reliance on the will of our Creator for all things*. You are leaving us for India. I have drawn up a collection of prayers; suffer me to present it you, and to entreat that, when you are far removed from me you will adopt the use of it. Sir William replied, that he was highly gratified by his request, and that he was *constant in prayer*.

Mr. Sharp expired after a short but very gradual and easy decline on the sixth of July, 1813. His person is represented as of middle size, his countenance clear, his figure upright and well formed, and his manner lively, frank and unaffected. Polished, courteous and peculiarly attentive to others, on recognizing a friend, he gave himself instantly and wholly to him, and seemed to forget every subject except that suggested by the interview.

The decease of this inestimable man called forth testimonies of respect to his character from various institutions with which he was connected. It only remains for us to record the inscription (written by William Smith, esq. M. P.) on the monument erected to his memory, by the African institution, in Westminster Abbey:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

GRANVILLE SHARP,

NINTH SON OF DR. THOMAS SHARP,

PREBENDARY OF THE CATHEDRAL AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF  
YORK, DURHAM, AND SOUTHWELL,

AND GRANDSON OF DR. JOHN SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

BORN AND EDUCATED IN THE BOSOM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,  
HE EVER CHERISHED FOR HER INSTITUTIONS THE MOST

UNSHAKEN REGARD,

WHILE HIS WHOLE SOUL WAS IN HARMONY WITH THE SACRED  
STRAIN,

"GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE AND GOOD  
WILL TOWARD MEN,"

ON WHICH HIS LIFE PRESENTED ONE BEAUTIFUL COMMENT  
OF GLOWING PIETY AND UNWEARIED BENEFICENCE.

FREED BY COMPETENCY FROM THE NECESSITY, AND BY CONTENT  
FROM THE DESIRE, OF LUCRATIVE OCCUPATION,  
HE WAS INCESSANT IN HIS LABOURS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION  
OF MANKIND,

FOUNDING PUBLIC HAPPINESS ON PUBLIC VIRTUE.

HE AIMED TO RESCUE HIS NATIVE COUNTRY FROM THE GUILT AND  
INCONSISTENCY OF EMPLOYING THE ARM OF FREEDOM TO  
RIVET THE FETTERS OF BONDAGE, AND ESTABLISHED  
FOR THE NEGRO RACE, IN THE PERSON OF SOM-  
ERSET, THE LONG-DISPUTED RIGHTS OF

HUMAN NATURE.

HAVING IN THIS GLORIOUS CAUSE TRIUMPHED OVER THE COM-  
BINED RESISTANCE OF INTEREST, PREJUDICE, AND PRIDE,  
HE TOOK HIS POST AMONG THE FOREMOST OF THE HONORABLE BAND  
ASSOCIATED TO DELIVER AFRICA FROM THE RAPACITY OF  
EUROPE, BY THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

NOR WAS DEATH PERMITTED TO INTERRUPT HIS CAREER OF USEFUL-  
NESS, TILL HE HAD WITNESSED THAT ACT OF THE BRITISH  
PARLIAMENT BY WHICH THE ABOLITION WAS DECREED.

IN HIS PRIVATE RELATIONS HE WAS EQUALLY EXEMPLARY:  
AND HAVING EXHIBITED THROUGH LIFE A MODEL OF DISINTERESTED  
VIRTUE,

HE RESIGNED HIS PIOUS SPIRIT INTO THE HANDS OF HIS CREATOR,  
IN THE EXERCISE OF CHARITY, AND FAITH, AND HOPE,  
ON THE SIXTH DAY OF JULY, A. D. MDCCCXIII, IN THE SEVENTY  
EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

### READER,

IF, ON PERUSING THIS TRIBUTE TO A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL,  
THOU SHOULDEST BE DISPOSED TO SUSPECT IT AS PARTIAL, OR  
CENSURE IT AS DIFFUSE,  
KNOW THAT IT IS NOT PANEGYRIC, BUT HISTORY.

ERECTED BY THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION OF LONDON,  
A. D. MDCCCXVI.

## Liberia.—Fifty years hence.

## A TALE.

MR. EDITOR,

The idea of the following tale was suggested by a donation made to the American Colonization Society, and published in the last number of the Repository. "From the Winder Lodge of Freemasons, §20," was the simple notice which was given. Whether, sir, it was owing to the influence of a warm imagination, or whether it was the course of thought natural to the occasion, but my mind travelled at once into the future, and the pleasure which I derived from contemplating the results of similar donations from each lodge in America, was so great, that I endeavoured to give my visions an intelligible appearance in the following sheets.—They are at your service, sir, if you think that the interest of the great cause of Colonization, can, in the remotest manner, be forwarded by them.

October, 1826.

In a city which shall be nameless, and in a street, whose name in a nameless city it would be useless to tell, stood a large but simple building, which had long excited the curiosity of the passers by. Its purpose was indefinitely known. It was the house of assembly of an ancient and honorable society. A band, whose members called themselves brothers, met there for the purposes of benevolence: but they met in silent mystery, which, wild as had been a million suppositions, had as yet defied penetration. This mystery it was that excited the curiosity we speak of. Not contented with the benefits derived from the labours of the body, the uninitiated would willingly have torn the veil of silence and secrecy and penetrated unlawfully the *arcana*, as the savage would destroy the utility of the watch in his eagerness to examine its mechanism. The brethren sought not to make proselytes; they kept their counsel, and offered only the unobtrusive argument of their lives and manners in favour of their institution. As in all associations, there were some who disgraced the cause: but these were few; and they excited much more pain in the ranks of the order than division in the world. With such there was no communion: all ties but that of silence were dissolved, and the member, who ceased to be virtuous, forfeited the rights of brotherhood.

Such, from external appearances, was the order which held its calm and undisturbed meetings in the building in question; and report was abroad, that many a work of charity which the person benefitted deemed miraculous, was the result of its deliberations.

The lamps had long been lighted before the pile of building; the street was silent as the councils of the brotherhood; the shutting of a door, the foot-



fall of a companion, now and then were heard. The only living object in sight was a young man, who rapidly paced the steps leading to the principal entrance of the hall. From time to time he cast anxious glances at the doorway, or paused and turned his head, as if to catch the sound of approaching feet. He was a candidate for initiation. The distant bell had clanged the hour for which he had been summoned, and still none came to him. The tales which had been told him by the ignorant, of the nature of the ceremonies of the order, now crowded to his mind. Delay was creating doubt; anxiety was begetting indecision. His imagination conjured up a thousand images, and yielding to its suggestions, he had turned to leave the place, when his name was called from the door-way. He paused.—The person who spoke to him was a high minded, pious and honorable man. "Surely," said the young initiate, "*he* would not abet aught that was improper or indelicate." He turned to the summoner, and in another moment the doors of the hall closed upon them as they entered.

One who was passing before the mysterious building, as the front door slammed after the initiate and his conductor, paused, and with curious ears listened to hear if any noise from within would afford conjecture ground to build upon. Notes of a faint but holy music occasionally reached him. A tramp, as of many feet, once sounded, and he fancied that he twice or thrice heard a heavy murmur, as if the deep response of a multitude in prayer. But nothing else came on the still hour, and the passenger pursued his way, as much in doubt as ever with regard to the secrets and ceremonies of the fraternity.

The night was far advanced when the brethren separated. The ray which fell on the countenance of the initiate, as he descended the steps of the building, showed an expression far different from that of two hours since. The broad high forehead of the young man was smooth and tranquil; his deep-sunk eye glanced brightly beneath it, partly in benevolent satisfaction, partly as if in keen reflection; his lips were compressed with an air of strong and proud decision; his carriage was calm and dignified; indeed his whole appearance shewed, that whatever had been the ceremonies of the night, they contained nothing which did not tend to improve, to elevate and enlarge. A group paused for a moment around the young initiate: the discourse sunk into a whisper; again it resumed its usual tone, the wishes of the night were exchanged, and the party separated. "Pleasant dreams, my brother," said the last who left our friend. The person addressed turned and advanced with an eager step to the speaker, grasped the extended hand in both of his, gazed anxiously on him, and with deep feeling replied,—"*Yes, I know, I feel, that we are indeed all brothers; bound by one tie; pursuing one object of benevolence; bowing before one Almighty power,—brothers in purity and in truth.*" A warm pressure was the only answer; each turned him towards his home; the lamps were extinguished; the key grated in the door of the building, and the street was left silent and unoccupied.

Years passed away, and he, whose entrance into the order we have just sketched, as far at least as external appearances afforded ground, became an

honor to the brotherhood. Term after term did he preside over its labors, contributing, as well by example as by precept, to its improvement and support. Never did the sublime morality of the institution find a better advocate, than the enthusiastic yet cautious master. In the lofty and figurative language of tradition he explained the principles, and enforced the ceremonies, which time, reason and religion had consecrated. When he demanded the privileges of the craft, he received them as a free born man, apart from worldly circumstances. It was incumbent on him to spread far and wide the lights of knowledge and religion, without distinction of wealth, rank or color,—to bestow the blessings of freedom on all around, as far as was consistent with the laws of his country and the rights of his countrymen;—in one word, to render mankind, as far as lay in his power, happier and better. So thought the master, and for these ends did he exert himself.

There are some characters of high enthusiasm, whose impulses are their only guides, and who are as often wrong as right. There are others again, whose natural warmth of feeling is as great, but who have made it obedient to their judgment. These last, by hard struggles, succeed in converting enthusiasm into perseverance, and are those whose flight is the highest, the steadiest, the most brilliant and the most true. Among these was the member of the order. The emancipation and removal of the black population of his country was the great object to which he turned his attention. With many this was a question of policy alone. With him philanthropy mingled largely in its consideration, and he devoted the strong powers of his mind and the energy of his character to the accomplishment of the scheme, as one forwarding the cause of humanity as well as promoting the interest of the land. When he considered the situation of the colored population of the country, enslaved by the white man on account of difference of color only, he did not, much as he lamented the state of things, cry out for freedom for the black, and his descendants, and threaten the vengeance of Heaven and of man if it were not granted. Had the master lived when the great question was agitated on the banks of the James River, "shall this cargo of blacks be landed here, and held by us as slaves?" the power of his eloquence and the weight of his virtue would have been thrown into the scale in favour of universal freedom. But this was decided before the master's time. When he mingled in the bustle of life he found the right of property settled by universal practice and sanctioned by positive laws. No particular kind of property was specified as being under the protection of government: all kinds were equally so; and the property in slaves, existing when the laws were made, was as much protected as property in the soil. He therefore viewed the subject of slavery in reference to the existing state of things, and expected its abolition from the gradual emancipation which the increasing experience and moral feeling of the community would effect.

"Shall we," the master would often ask, as he reflected on the subject of emancipation, "shall we be as one people when colored America is free? Will black and white then mix together as white now mixes with white? Impossible," was ever the answer to the self put question. "As well might

the Ethiop change his skin, or the Leopard his spot, as the descendants of the English change or overcome their feelings and prejudices on the subject: These, through the lapse of years, have become instinctive.—They circulate with our blood; and reason and philosophy might as well try, by the mere exertion of abstract thought, to heal a fester or efface a scar, as to join, in community of interest, in business, in marriage, or the equal participation of civil rights, the two classes of society.

“Can we then,” he would continue, “live together in happiness as two separate and distinct bodies? No—one must always hold the ascendancy, and if the happiness of the other consists at all in independence, a different land must receive it.”

This was the conclusion to which the master would always arrive, and to a distant shore, therefore did he look for the rise of a mighty empire, founded and increased by the emigrants from America. To the accomplishment of this did he direct his prayers and his energies. This did he blend with his instructions to his brethren. This did he assert to be in accordance with the principles that united them.—To the prosecution of this by the body to which he belonged, did he look with confidence; and this, when accomplished, would, he often declared, draw the blessings of millions upon the ancient institution.

“The time has been, my brothers,” he once exclaimed, “when fanaticism bade valour couch its lance, and tilt for honor on the plains of Palestine. The time has been, when the brave and the noble rushed to certain death, when striving to plant their banners on the walls of Jerusalem. Yet they acquired fame and reputation; and history has tracked their wanderings to immortalize their toils. If such was the earthly reward of those who for nothing sacrificed their lives—who cursed rather than benefitted the land over which they moved;—if our banner, which was then borne by the knights of the temple of St. John, of the Sepulchre, and of Malta, was regarded with admiration, what would it not receive of gratitude and respect, when it was acknowledged in Africa as the ensign of that body, which joined heart and hand, and assisted by its energies, to effect the emancipation of a people and the founding of an empire.”

The eloquence of the master was not without its effect. The brothers who listened to his words and marked the expression of his countenance, the glance of his eye, and the benevolent expansion of his brow, believed the principles which he inculcated, and gave their assistance in reducing them to practice, and the uninitiate beheld with more interest the large pile of building, when it was hinted, that the labours of the body meeting there were directed to the gradual emancipation of a large portion of the human race.

The blacks soon caught the feeling which animated the bosom of the apostle of the cause, and formed among themselves societies for the purpose of emigrating. They made weekly and monthly contributions to create a fund to bear the expenses of the emigrants to Africa. Their children even gave their petty earnings, hoping to reap the benefit thereof in one day obtaining a passage to the land of their fathers. The blacks who had hitherto

looked upon the whites without exception as their enemies, because their superiors, now selected from them the members of the mysterious fraternity. They looked with kindly eyes upon their place of meeting,—they taught themselves the emblems of the craft, they stood uncovered with silent respect as the processions of the order passed them, and gave their ardent prayers to aid the brethren in the prosecution of their plan. The person who occupied the most exalted place in the esteem of the blacks, was the benevolent and virtuous master. He pursued his way quietly but efficiently. The time which could with propriety be taken from the avocations of business and his family, he devoted to the cause of his order, and the great object of that order's labours, while, as if enticed by the charity and feeling which distinguished him, fortune seemed to become one of his domestic circle, and to smile upon the exertions of each member of the family.

Such was the person whom I have endeavoured to describe under the title of the master; such were the objects towards which he wished to turn and finally did turn the exertions of his brethren; such was the success which encouraged him to proceed.

The advocate of the cause might have been seen at daylight, one summer morning, on the quay which jutted far into the estuary forming the harbor of the city here first alluded to. The mist, undisturbed by the sun, yet floated upon the waters, and veiled all but the masts of the countless vessels which lay around. The long taper masts of ship, and brig, and schooner, looked black in the morning's twilight. The strips of pennons, weighed down by the dew, hung closely to the rigging. The hollow murmur of the rising tide was just audible beneath the master's feet, among the timbers of the quay, and not a block creaked, and not an oar rolled in the rowlock to disturb the still and solemn morning. By degrees things became more distinct: the mist began to scud before a light breeze that blew off the shore, and, as it passed away, revealed, anchored in the stream, the long, low, and peculiar schooner of the Americans, shooting its tall raking masts and thin spars upwards, and sending out its bowsprit far beyond its bows and almost parallel with the water. All was silent around the estuary long after the usual time at which the bustle of business begins, for it was a Sabbath morning; but on board the vessel in the stream every thing appeared in motion. Numerous heads were seen above the bulwarks; the buckets of the sailors engaged in washing down the deck, splashed in the water; the ropes whistled over the sheaves; the topsails were shaken out as the sun approached the horizon; the sailors sang their "yo, heave oh" around the capstan, as the anchor was tripped, ready to be weighed; the gibs rattled up their stays; every thing in fact betokened an immediate departure. In this general confusion the solitary occupant of the wharf was not observed, and for some time he waved his handkerchief in vain. At length two sailors spring into the boat alongside, pulled to the shore, and soon after the master stood upon the deck of the schooner. As he mounted its low side, the noise on board ceased, the sailors at the capstan leaned on the bars; those aloft rested their hands upon the half united point, and beat still further on the yards. The captain received and led the master

aft, and slowly following, and forming a dense body, came a crowd of blacks whom the vessel was to convey to Africa, and who had been selected from hundreds of others, for the present opportunity. The glance of youthful feeling which had once lighted the eye of the initiate was now bright in the expression of the master's countenance, as he saw the accomplishment of his wishes in the enthusiasm of the emigrants. For each he had some kind word treasured by them long after the master was no more. To all did he represent the true nature of the land to which they were sailing. He told them that they were but the pioneers of civilization; that idleness and luxury were not to be their portion; but that toil and peril were to be expected and endured. He spoke of the earliest emigrants, of their success and happiness, the results of industry and morality. He told them that they would be among the first of the founders of a mighty and free nation, and that at some future day they would be ranked in the same scale with those who settled and peopled America. All this did he set forth, and then returned to the difficulties which they must necessarily encounter, and offered to the faint and weak-hearted a passage to the still near shore. "There still may be your country," said the energetic master, pointing to the spires and domes of the city now flashing in the sun. "The boat is ready to receive all who repent them of their choice; I still will be their friend, the brotherhood still will assist them, if at another time they should determine to emigrate. Toil will be your portion for years in Africa, but freedom will dry the sweat upon your brows. Dangers will surround you, but liberty will nerve your arm to overcome them. Death may be your portion, but the Almighty eye is over the deserts of Africa as well as over the cities of America. You are indeed few in numbers, but countless thousands will hereafter bless your memories as among the first who established the colony of Liberia. Yonder, I repeat, may still be your country. If you land there now, the pleasures and luxuries of civilized life will be around you; when the boat is again lowered, it will pull for the uncultivated shore of a distant land: a few huts will receive you, and your hard toil must support you. Are you still willing to seek this clime, to be landed on this shore?"

The master paused—the men and the women looked to each other, but spoke not; and then all gazed intently on the now illumined city. It was a moment of deep, almost awful feeling—the very sailors held their breaths—the master alone preserved his strong yet placid countenance unmoved. The doubt however, if any arose, was but for a moment; the preacher of the emigrants essayed to speak, and the eyes of all were directed towards him. A single glance satisfied him of the feeling which was strong within his congregation. "We have made our choice" he said, "we have implored the blessing of our God,—we are for Africa;" and the words, "we are for Africa," were repeated by the emigrants to a single soul. Again the master spoke to them individually; the preacher prayed during a few minutes; the sailors leaped into the boat; the master followed and every eye watched their progress to the wharf, now covered with people. Not a breath was heard on

board the schooner till he landed, and waving his hand was lost among the spectators.

All now again was bustle ; the anchor came merrily up ; the head of the vessel fell off from the wind ; the sails filled and bellied, and bending low to the tide, the *Liberia Packet* was soon lost to sight.

Having thus seen the emigrants safe on board the vessel which was to convey them to Africa ; having thus tested the feeling which impelled them to leave America ; and having thus satisfied himself of the spirit which pervaded them, it was to have been supposed that the master, having accomplished so large a portion of the great work, would have resigned the labouring oar into other hands, and quietly and from afar, contemplated the success of his exertions in the cause. But the spirit which moved him was not so easily to be cooled ; it was kindled when he strode in doubt before the lamps of the mystic building, and it was to be extinguished only with the lamp of his existence. Sublime in themselves as were the ceremonies of his order, referring as they did to events of such remote antiquity as ever to chain the attention, he considered them valuable, principally as the vehicles of good : and on this ground did he constantly urge to his fraternity, the advantages which might be derived from a proper combination of their resources. Nor did he urge it in vain, and many a vessel, like the long low schooner we have mentioned, bore its share of the tide of emigration to Africa.

Wealth had long since blessed the persevering industry of the master, but time and death had weakened the ties which bound him to the city where he first entered into the order of brothers ; and when the news of the spread of light in Africa, reached his solitary fireside, and the fond messages of those he had befriended came to him across the Atlantic, telling him of their happiness and their pride, he thought of visiting the far off country, and once more greeting the beings he had served so faithfully. Few were the relations remaining to dissuade him, and thirty years from the sailing of the *Liberia Packet*, he stood upon the same wharf, and made the same signals, at the same hour, to the schooner, which, as the one of former days, was anchored in the stream. In this, as in a former instance, a crowd of emigrants collected round the master when he reached the deck : to these again he repeated the description of the country to which they were bound, and bade the timorous and undecided to return ; and again, as often times before, he found none to avail themselves of the offer.

The wind blew as fair as when the *Liberia Packet* started on her first voyage, and the city looked even brighter in the sun light. The eye of the master rested long upon the tops of two tall poplars, standing he knew, on either side of his now deserted dwelling. He caught a glimpse of the summit of the building in which he first became a member of the brotherhood. He gazed upon the wharf where he had so often stood to witness the sailing of the colonists. The vessel in the mean while went bravely on ; passed the point at the entrance of the little bay, and in a few minutes an intervening head-land hid the place of his nativity from the master's view.

The voyage across the Atlantic was prosperous and short, and the evening of the twenty-seventh day, found the Packet within forty-eight hours sail of the destined port. The passengers already began to prepare for debarkation, and in joyous spirits kept a watchful eye upon that part of the horizon, in which it was expected that the land would first present itself.

But the Liberia Packet was not destined to reach her harbor as soon as the emigrants expected. During the day just mentioned, the masts of a vessel sailing nearly in a parallel direction, had been creeping above the dividing line of sea and sky, until the hulk of a clipping schooner became visible, and not long after, the two vessels ran side by side within speaking distance.

The appearance and near approach of the stranger, had hitherto excited curiosity only on board the Packet; and great therefore was the alarm of the emigrants, when the hail and reply were followed by an order to lay to, and a gun fired ahead to enforce obedience. The Packet now came into the wind, and the captain and two men leaving it, pulled for the stranger. After remaining there for a moment upon deck, they descended into the cabin. Before long they re-appeared; but it was amid strife and confusion. Swords gleamed in the evening sun, and the flash, smoke, and report of pistols, were seen and heard by the emigrants. There was a momentary silence on board the Clipper immediately after the firing of the pistols, and as the vessels had now approached very near, the loud voice of command was easily distinguished. It was obeyed by upwards of twenty men, who entering the Packet's boat and their own, pulled one for the head, and the other for the stern of their prey.

By this time the master and his companions had only too well ascertained the character of their neighbours—they were among the last of those who lingered in the slave trade, and who now made desperately the effort of the colony to suppress their traffic, wreaked their vengeance upon the unarmed Packet. Unsuspicious of the intended piracy, and without arms, the master and the emigrants made an ineffectual, though violent resistance. With the capstan-bars, oars, and billets of wood, they endeavoured to prevent the assailants from mounting the side, and for a while their desperate resistance was successful. But the pirates, again and again, repeated their efforts, and finally became masters of the deck. The blacks were driven below; but the whites were all taken on board the pirate.

As the master and his unfortunate companions stepped upon the deck, it was still wet with the blood of the captain and the boat's crew, which had accompanied him. Their own trial was equally short,—their own sentence equally violent. Few words were spoken by the captain of the pirates,—a tall handsome man in the prime of life, of powerful frame, and dark countenance,—he signed to the person who acted as his boatswain, and a plank was run out over the bulwark to the distance of eight or ten feet. There was no mistaking its purpose. The captain first looked at it, and then at his victims. "If you wish to pray," said he, addressing them, "pray quickly." Two of the sailors dropped upon their knees. The other three looked anxiously at

one another, but made no motion to follow the example of their comrades. The tallest of these last, a young man now on his first voyage, seemed the most indifferent to what was going on, and leaned against the mainmast, as if quietly expecting his fate. After waiting for a few moments, the captain sprang upon the bulwark, and holding by a shroud, signed to his executioner, the boatswain, to proceed. The sailors on their knees were roused from their devotions, and the eldest forced to mount the plank, and ordered to walk to its extremity. The unfortunate man shuddered convulsively, as he prepared to obey the command. It was a moment of awful silence, when every eye was bent upon the victim. Suddenly there was a quick step heard, and the young man from the mast was seen to spring like lightning upon the captain at the bulwark, determined to bear him with him into the deep. But a faithless footing defeated his purpose: he slipped in the blood upon the deck, and though he still sprung forward, it was too late. The captain with inconceivable quickness drew and fired his pistol, and the young sailor uttering a wild unearthly shriek, fell dead at his feet.

The crew were so astonished, that not a hand had been raised to prevent the daring attempt, and when it was disappointed, the captain coolly motioned the boatswain to proceed. The victim thus respited, was again ordered to the end of the plank: he hesitated for a moment, and then rushing with frantic violence, precipitated himself from its extremity. Once he rose to the surface, and a musket was aimed; but before it could be fired, he had disappeared forever.

The next victim was the master, who had hitherto stood silent and calm as if in deep communion with his Maker. "God's will be done," he said, as the boatswain summoned him to the plank, and with a steady step and tranquil air he stepped upon it—he walked slowly to the end, and turned to the schooner. The men astonished at his firmness, forgot their diabolical duty, and he stood for a second looking upon them before they tilted him into the ocean. As he fell, some sounds escaped his lips, some gesture was made by him. The pirate captain saw and understood them, and plunging after his victim, seized him, bore him to the surface, and grasping the oar which was immediately thrown overboard, sustained the master until both were rescued by the Clipper's boat.

The crew, as may readily be conceived, looked with astonishment at this strange scene, and muttered among themselves at its apparent folly. The tones of discontent increased, as the captain and the master once more trod the deck of the vessel, and reached the ears of the former. "Silence," he said, "make all sail for land, speak the prize to follow, and then look well to the prisoners." The sailors obeyed, and the master was conducted by his preserver into the cabin. The captain looked cautiously round the narrow births, and having satisfied himself that they were alone, he addressed the master: "You know, sir, why I saved your life;" after a moment's pause, during which time the eyes of each met in intense examination, the master bowed his head in acquiescence. "I have done my duty," continued the



pirate, "although proscribed by the body that imposed it. It is a pity, sir, that you did not recollect your rights while our vessels were yet distant, and we might have never met. All that I can do now, is to save the lives of your companions and yourself; your vessel and your negroes are the property of my crew, won in contest, and beyond the reach of my authority."

Much passed between the master and the pirate captain; but vain were all endeavours to induce the latter to release the blacks and land them in the neighbourhood of the colony. "His crew," he repeated, "had won them, and should hold them."

These were almost the last words which the master had with the pirate, who during the remainder of their voyage together, studiously avoided him. On the evening of the second day, a low strip of land was just discernible in the horizon, to which the vessels were rapidly approaching. A signal was hoisted at the peak, and some time before dawn, a boat filled with negroes, boarded the Clipper. With these the captain seemed to be well acquainted; he consulted with some of them apart, and when the conference was over, ordered the stern boat to be lowered and the master and his companions to enter it. It was manned by four sailors from the pirate, and two of the negroes attended as pilots.

No farewell passed between the captain and the master, for the former avoided witnessing the departure of the boat. "Dead men tell no tales," and similar sayings were muttered discontentedly by the crew, as their prisoners left them; but they descended unharmed into the boat, and after a long and tedious pull, and a strong buffet with the surf, found themselves at daylight, landed upon a low and sandy coast. The boat immediately pushed off, and returned to the Clipper which was standing off and on, far out at sea. It was not long before the master and his companions were discovered by the Kroomen on the look out. By these they were received and conducted on their road eastward to the colony at Liberia. Unacquainted with the language of the coast, the master could only convey his meaning by signs, and the frequent use of the name of the colony. These were all-sufficient. The difficult and dangerous journey was at last accomplished, and the sound of his native tongue again greeted the ears of the master. Village after village they passed through, peopled with the emigrants and their descendants. At the name of the white headed traveller the door was opened, and his blessing was the ample recompence for the hospitality which he received. Those who knew him not by name, looked at him with reverence as one of the mystic order that had done so much for Africa; and those who had heard of his individual labors regarded him as the father of the land.

It was in the evening of a delightful day, that the master and his companions reached the chief town of the Colony; and stood upon the summit of the point, which jutting far into the sea, forms a boundary of Cape Mount Bay. On one side was the ocean, limiting half the horizon. On the other the eye roved over a champaign and beautiful country, spotted with villages, and at this season yielding its rich produce to the labour of the harvester. At the

extremity of the road which ran inland from the cape, was to be seen Monrovia and its steeples, while the setting sun glanced occasionally on the waving folds of the flag which protected the city. The Montserado flowed at the feet of the travellers. Boats and canoes were plying in every direction, stopping at the islands, or shooting by them, and landing at the village opposite to the town. The bay was crowded with shipping from all quarters of the world. The stars of America, the mother of the Colony—The cross of England—The white of France—The flag of Greece,—all played in the light wind, equally protected by the free trade which the Colonial government had established. But the master forgot all these splendid representatives of nations, when his eye rested upon the Clipper of the pirate, lying under the high stern of an American frigate, and saw the Liberia Packet safely anchored in the inner roads. There was no mistake to his quick apprehension, and he knelt down, and under the wide dome of Nature's temple, thanked the Almighty for this signal instance of his mercy.

The travellers now turned from the ocean to the city. The tall trees of the country, here and there permitted to grow in clusters by the road side, threw their broad shadows far eastward, away from the setting sun. Neat and handsome dwellings surrounded by gardens were scattered on the ridge even to the edge of the city. The wide and pleasant streets were filled with busy and industrious inhabitants. Handsome churches marked the religious character of the Liberians. School houses, from which crowds of children were now issuing at the close of day, shewed that education was not neglected. Want was no where to be seen, but plenty and comfort appeared to reign in Liberia.

Avoiding all notice, the master quietly traversed the streets, and at last reached the centre of the city. An advancing crowd here stopped the guide, and the travellers placed themselves in a door way, with the intention of waiting until the procession causing it had passed.

Before long the notes of the leading band of music burst upon the master's ear. It was a well known tune that vibrated in the African sky. It led a long procession whose banners waved and glittered, and yet there were neither plumes, nor arms beneath them. The rich blazonry of heraldic ornament shone upon the silk. The cherubim with extended wing were there; and "Holiness unto the Lord" was inscribed in large letters under the quartered shield of the mystic brotherhood. The heart of the master beat quick as he recognized, thus far from America, the fraternity to which he belonged, and which had contributed so largely to the increase and happiness of the nation which stood around him: but time was not allowed him for reflection, and he was borne by the crowd to the spot where the procession halted. Three poles joined at the top, and suspending, by means of a pulley, a square stone, denoted the object of the meeting. The corner stone of a church was to be laid, and the first bustle and noise among the populace settled soon into a dead silence in expectation of the ceremonies.

The attending clergyman offered a prayer to Heaven, in behalf of the

congregation about to raise another temple, in which the incense of grateful hearts would be given as a sacrifice acceptable in the eyes of the Deity. He besought HIM so to bless the exertions of those sent to convert and civilize the heathen, that this should be but one among the thousand churches dedicated to His worship; until christianity, like the Indian tree, should root the extremities of its branches in the ground, from whence new trunks arising, the world should be sheltered beneath a shade from one parent stem. The clergyman had long passed the meridian of life, and in his appearance and discourse retained the simplicity of those holy men who first went to Africa to prepare the way for the returning wanderers, the descendants of the old possessors of the soil. Church after church he had seen arise in a heathen land; and the same sun, which now lent its mildest rays to be reflected from the corner stone of the sacred edifice, he had seen when the topmost leaves of the forest alone felt its influence.

The prayer being concluded, the cornucopia and the vases of wine and oil were handed to the master and wardens of the procession; and in solemn form their contents were poured out upon the stone. The appropriate and beautiful prayer of the ancient order was then repeated; "May the All Bounteous Author of Nature bless the inhabitants of this place with all the necessities, conveniences and comforts of life: assist in the erection and completion of this building: protect the workmen against every accident, and long preserve the structure from decay: and grant to us all in needed supply the corn of nourishment, the wine of refreshment, and the oil of joy—amen," and the low "so mote it be," responded from the lips of the surrounding brethren. Three heavy strokes of a hammer were heard as they descended upon the stone: the procession then formed in order, and accompanied by the crowd, left the master alone in the grey mist of evening, still bending over the foundation of the building.

The name and presence of the master was soon bruited abroad, and fain would the grateful Liberians have paid him the most exalted honors. But the time had long past when pomp and show pleased and dazzled him. Wealth he had already at his command, and the sight of the happiness of those around him was his reward for years of labour. The proud standing of the mystic brotherhood; the respect and veneration which its benevolence had secured; the gratitude expressed to him who had so toiled in the cause, were more valuable in the master's eye, than princely honors or boundless wealth.

Long as the master remained at Liberia, his dwelling was thronged with its inhabitants—those whose embarkation for Africa he had immediately superintended, and those who knew him only by his wide spread reputation. Parents brought their children that they might gaze on and remember the venerable visitor. Strangers from distant lands, whose vessels lay in the harbor came to see him as one of a superior race. The brethren rejoiced with him within the precincts of their mystic halls, and dedicated their lodges

to his worth; and when at last, he returned to lay his bones in death by his fathers' side, he bore with him the blessings of a nation which his benevolence had assisted in creating.

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## Virginia Petition.

We insert the following interesting document at the request of a distinguished gentleman of Virginia:

*Extracts from the minutes of the house of Burgesses in Virginia, Wednesday, April 1st, 1772.*

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in general assembly, beg leave with all humility to approach your royal presence.

The many instances of your majesty's benevolent intentions and most gracious disposition to promote the prosperity and happiness of your subjects in the Colonies, encourage us to look up to the throne, and implore your majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature.

The importation of slaves into the Colonies from the coast of Africa, hath long been considered as a trade of *great inhumanity*; and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will *endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions*.

We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain, may reap emolument from this sort of traffick; but when we consider that it *greatly retards the settlement of the Colonies with more white inhabitants*, and may in time *have the most destructive influence*, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of this Colony, which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.

Your Majesty's ancient Colony and dominion of Virginia hath, at all times, and upon every occasion, been entirely devoted to your majesty's sacred person and government; and we cannot forego this opportunity of renewing those assurances of the truest loyalty and warmest affection, which we have so often, with the greatest sincerity, given to the best of kings, whose wisdom and goodness we esteem the surest pledge of the happiness of all his people.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the house doth agree with the committee in the said address to be presented to his majesty.

Resolved, that an address be presented to his excellency the governor, to desire that he will be pleased to transmit the address to his majesty, and to support it in such manner, as he shall think most likely to promote the desirable end proposed.

## Anthony Benezet.

This disinterested and unwearied labourer in the cause of the distressed, having ascertained that the slave trade was reviving in consequence of the conclusion of the American war, addressed the following beautiful and pathetic letter to Charlotte, queen of Great Britain:

\* "Impressed with a sense of religious duty, and encouraged by the opinion generally entertained of thy benevolent disposition to succour the distressed, I take the liberty, very respectfully, to offer to thy perusal some tracts, which I believe faithfully describe the suffering condition of many hundred thousands of our fellow-creatures of the African race, great numbers of whom, rent from every tender connexion in life, are annually taken from their native land, to endure, in the American islands and plantations, a most rigorous and cruel slavery; whereby many, very many of them, are brought to a melancholy and untimely end.

"When it is considered that the inhabitants of Great Britain, who are themselves so eminently blessed in the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty, have long been, and yet are, very deeply concerned in this flagrant violation of the common rights of mankind, and that even its national authority is exerted in support of the African Slave-trade, there is much reason to apprehend, that this has been, and, as long as the evil exists, will continue to be, an occasion of drawing down the Divine displeasure on the nation and its dependencies. May these considerations induce thee to interpose thy kind endeavours in behalf of this greatly injured people, whose abject situation gives them an additional claim to the pity and assistance of the generous mind, inasmuch as they are altogether deprived of the means of soliciting effectual relief for themselves; that so thou mayest not only be a blessed instrument in the hand of him 'by whom kings reign and princes decree justice,' to avert the awful judgments by which the empire has already been so remarkably shaken, but that the blessings of thousands ready to perish may come upon thee, at a time when the superior advantages attendant on thy situation in this world will no longer be of any avail to thy consolation and support.

"To the tracts on this subject to which I have thus ventured to crave thy particular attention, I have added some which at different times I have believed it my duty to publish,\* and which, I trust, will afford thee some satisfaction, their design being for the furtherance of that universal peace and goodwill amongst men, which the gospel was intended to introduce.

"I hope thou wilt kindly excuse the freedom used on this occasion by an ancient man, whose mind, for more than forty years past, has been much separated from the common intercourse of the world, and long painfully ex-

\*These related to the principles of the religious society of the Quakers.

exercised in the consideration of the miseries under which so large a part of mankind, equally with us the objects of redeeming love, are suffering the most unjust and grievous oppression, and who sincerely desires thy temporal and eternal felicity, and that of thy royal consort.

ANTHONY BENEZET."

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## The Colonization Scheme.

Extracts from a letter from William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. of Virginia, to a gentleman of New-York, dated

"Ravensworth, Aug. 11th, 1826.

"Our design was, by providing an asylum on the coast of Africa, and furnishing the necessary facilities for removal to the people of colour, to induce the voluntary emigration of that portion of them already free, and to throw open to individuals and the states a wider door for voluntary and legal emancipation. The operation, we were aware, must be—and, for the interests of our country, ought to be gradual. But we entertained a hope, founded on our knowledge of the interests as well as the feelings of the South, that this operation, properly conducted, would, *in the end*, remove from our country every vestige of domestic slavery, without a single violation of individual wishes or individual rights.

"The whole work we propose to leave to the authorities of our country; and we hope, by a combined and harmonious operation of the state and federal governments, to concentrate for its accomplishment all the powers and resources of the nation. And will it be denied that these powers and resources are fully adequate to the undertaking?

"The annual increase of the coloured population of the country does not exceed 40,000; so that the annual removal of 50,000 would not only prevent the increase, but would, in the course of a very few years, leave not a vestige of the population in question. Indeed, the annual removal of a much smaller number would answer every purpose; for, as the emigrants would, in the nature of things, consist of the younger, and healthier, and more productive classes, it is obvious that the rate of increase of those remaining behind would be very much diminished. I have no doubt, indeed, that the most economical mode of effecting the object in contemplation would be to apply the means to be used, as far as possible, to encouraging the emigration of those but lately married.

"Nor is there any ground for alarm on the score of expense. Even in the mode in which the Colonization Society is compelled to conduct its movements, the cost of transporting 50,000 individuals could be only \$1,000,000; and there can be no doubt that, under the auspices of the government, and

in a regular commercial interchange with Africa, a system might be devised in which this item of expenditure might be reduced to almost nothing.

"But suppose the expense to be \$1,000,000, or, if you please, \$2,000,000, would it either exceed the means of the government, or be disproportioned to the object to be accomplished? We gather from sundry speeches during the last session of Congress, that the government will, in the course of a few years, have at its disposal an annual surplus of \$15,000,000. A fair proportion of this will be applied, I trust, to the internal improvement of the country. And education, too, will very probably (and certainly very properly) command its share. But, after providing most amply for these two important interests, would not enough, and more than enough, be left to cover every expenditure that the most zealous advocate for colonizing the people of colour would ask at the hands of the general government? And can any object be presented more national in its character, or more intimately connected with "the common defence and general welfare of our country," than the removal of the population in question?

"But a question, as important as it is delicate, presents itself, in relation to the powers of the general government. And deep and sincere as is the interest I have ever felt on this subject—great and unlimited as are the personal sacrifices I am willing to make in relation to it—I feel no hesitation in saying, that, rather than see the general government transcend its authority, rather than see it go a single inch beyond the powers with which it is invested, I would abandon the whole scheme, and rest contented in the wretched condition in which I find my country involved.—But on this subject I have no apprehensions. The Colonization Society has distinctly designated the extent to which it seeks the interposition of the government of the country. It asks only the provisions of a place and a government for the reception and protection of such persons of colour as are already free, *and such others as the humanity of individuals, and the laws of the different states, may hereafter liberate*—the necessary encouragement to, and the necessary facilities for emigration—and as occasion may require it, *pecuniary aids to the states, for effecting, in such modes as they may choose, the extinction of slavery within their respective limits*. Such, and such only, is the interference asked. Nor have I ever met with an individual of respectable standing who wished for more; or who claimed for the government an authority to destroy, or in any manner to weaken rights recognised and sanctioned by the constitution of the country.

"Is there any thing, then, in the proposed co-operation of the national government, conflicting in the smallest degree with the principles of the constitution? If there could be any doubt whether a government, invested with all the powers of war and peace, and specially authorized to make treaties, could acquire foreign territory, it must have been removed in relation to our own, by the undisputed purchase of Louisiana and Florida. These acquisitions were made by the treaty-making power, and with the money of the nation, on the ground that they would "insure the internal tranquillity, and promote the common defence and the general welfare of the country. And

I take it for granted, that where the same objects shall require the acquisition of other territories, whether on the coast of Africa or of America, it may be effected under the same authority and by the same means; and the territory being procured, the most sceptical will not pretend to doubt the right of congress "to provide," in the language of the constitution, "the needful rules and regulations" for its government and protection.

"But, whence, it may be asked, is derived the proposed authority 'to afford encouragement to, and facilities for, emigration,' and 'pecuniary aids to the states for effecting the extinction of slavery within their respective limits?' From the very same source, I answer, whence springs the whole power of appropriation; from the authority 'to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the country,' and an authority, evidently imposing no other limitation on the power of appropriation, than that it be applied exclusively to promoting the general interests of the nation; and it accordingly may be, and under every administration has been, used in aiding the accomplishment of objects not within the reach of the other specified powers of the government. It is on this principle, that large sums have been voted at different times, for making roads and canals, for ameliorating the condition of the Indians, for giving relief to the inhabitants of Caraccas, for restoring captured Africans to their homes, for suppressing the slave trade, and, above all, for evincing the nation's gratitude to Gen. Lafayette: none of these different acts can be brought within the enumerated powers of the government. And if its revenue is to be expended only in sustaining these powers, not only must the acts in question, but a very large proportion of the numerous acts on our statute book, involving expenditure, be pronounced violations of the constitutional charter.

"Nor is this all. Under every other construction than that for which I contend, the people will have effectually defeated, by an injudicious distribution of their powers and resources, their own prosperity; for, having giving to the general government the *exclusive* power of raising revenue from commerce, while to the states they have reserved many of the most important powers of government, they will have given to the one, abundant resources, which cannot be used for want of objects on which to expend them; and to the other, important powers, which cannot be exercised for want of revenue to sustain them: and the only possible mode of avoiding this difficulty will be to give the appropriating clause of the constitution the construction warranted by its terms—a construction authorizing its application to every measure of general interest, whether it be to the education of the people, the improvement of the country, or the removal of an injurious population from our shores."



## Description of Bornou.

*From Denham and Clapperton's Narrative.*

Bornou, a kingdom of Central Africa, is comprehended, in its present state, between the 15th and 10th parallel northern latitude, and the 12th and 18th of east longitude. It is bounded on the north by part of Kanem, and the desert; on the east, by the Lake Tchad, which covers several thousand miles of country, and contains many inhabited islands; on the southeast by the kingdom of Loggun and the river Shary, which divides Bornou from the kingdom of Begharmi, and loses itself in the waters of the Tchad; on the south by Mandara, an independent kingdom, situated at the foot of an extensive range of primitive mountains; and on the west by Soudan. The heat is excessive, but not uniform; from March to the end of June being the period when the sun has most power. At this season, about two hours after noon, the thermometer will rise sometimes to 105 and 107; and suffocating and scorching winds from the south and south-east prevail. The nights are dreadfully oppressive; the thermometer not falling much below 100°, until a few hours before day-light; when 86 or 88 denote comparative freshness. Towards the middle of May, Bornou is visited by violent tempests of thunder, lightning and rain. Yet in such a dry state is the earth at this time, and so quickly is the water absorbed, that the inhabitants scarcely feel the inconvenience of the season. Considerable damage is done to the cattle and the people by the lightning. They now prepare the ground for their corn; and it is all in the earth before the end of June, when the lakes and rivers begin to overflow; and from the extreme flatness of the country, tracks of many miles are quickly converted into large lakes of water. Nearly constant rains now deluge the land, with cloudy, damp, sultry weather. The winds are hot and violent, and generally from the east and south.

In October the winter season commences; the rains are less frequent, and the harvest near the towns is got in; the air is milder and more fresh, the weather serene: breezes blow from the north-west, and with a clearer atmosphere. Towards December, and in the beginning of January, Bornou is colder than from its situation might be expected. The thermometer will, at no part of the day, mount higher than 74 or 75; and in the morning descends to 58 and 60.

It is these cold fresh winds from the north and north-west that restore health and strength to the inhabitants, who suffer during the damp weather from dreadful attacks of fever and ague, which carry off great numbers every year. The inhabitants are numerous; the principal towns or cities are thirteen. Ten different languages, or dialects of the same language, are spoken in the empire. The Shouaas have brought with them the Arabic, which they speak nearly pure. They are divided into tribes and bear still the names of some of the most formidable of the Bedouin hordes of Egypt. They are a deceitful, arrogant and cunning race; great charm writers; and by pretending to a natural gift of prophecy, they find an easy entrance into the houses of the black inhabitants of the towns, where their pilfering propensities often show themselves. The strong resemblance they bear, both in features and habits, to some of our gipsy tribes, is particularly striking. It is said that Bornou can muster 15,000 Shouaas in the field, mounted. They are the greatest breeders of cattle in the country, and annually supply Soudan with from two to three thousand horses. The Bornou people or Kanowry, as they are called, have large unmeaning faces, with fat negro noses, and mouths of great dimensions, with good teeth, and high foreheads. They are peaceable, quiet and civil: they salute each other with courteousness and warmth; and there is a remarkable good-natured heaviness about them which is interesting. They are no warriors, but revengeful; and the best of them given to commit petty larcenies, on every opportunity that offers. They are extremely timid; so much so, that on an Arab once speaking harshly to one of them, he came the next day to ask if he wished to kill him.

As their country produces little beside grain, mostly from a want of industry in the people, so are they nearly without foreign trade.

In their manner of living, they are simple in the extreme. Flour made into a paste, sweetened with honey, and fat poured over it, is a dish for a sultan. The use of bread is not known; therefore but little wheat is grown. Indeed it is found only in the houses of the great. Barley is also scarce; a little is sown between the wheat, and is used, when bruised, to take off the brackish taste of the water.

The grain most in use amongst the people of all classes, and

upon which also animals are fed, is a species of millet called *gussub*. This grain is produced in great quantities, and with scarcely any trouble. The poorer people will eat it raw or parched in the sun, and be satisfied without any other nourishment for several days together. Bruised and steeped in water, it forms the travelling stock of all pilgrims and soldiers. When cleared of the husk, pounded, and made into a light paste, in which a little *meloheia* (the *éboo ochra* of Guinea) and melted fat is mixed, it forms a favourite dish, and is called *kaddell*. *Kasheia* is the seed of a grass, which grows wild and in abundance near the water. It is parched in the sun, broken, and cleared of the husk. When boiled it is eaten as rice, or made into flour; but this is a luxury.

Four kinds of beans are raised in great quantities, called *mussaqua*, *màrya*, *kleemy* and *kimmay*, all known by the name of *gafooly*, and are eaten by the slaves, and poorer people. A paste made from these and fish, was the only eatable we could find in the towns near the river. Salt they scarcely knew the use of. Rice might have been cultivated in Bornou, before it became the scene of such constant warfare as has for the last fifteen years defaced the country. It is now brought from Soudan, in the neighbourhood of Maffatai: in Bornou, it is scarce, and of an inferior quality. Indian corn, cotton and indigo are the most valuable productions of the soil. The two latter grow wild, close to the Tchad and overflowed grounds. The senna plant is also found wild, and in abundance. The indigo is of a superior quality, and forms a dye which is used in colouring the robe (the only dress the people wear) dark blue, which probably is not excelled in quality in any part of the world. The only implement of husbandry they possess is an ill-shaped hoe, made from the iron found in the Mandara mountains; and the labours of their wretched agriculture devolve, almost entirely, on women. Most of their grain is reaped within two or three months of its being scattered on the earth (for it can scarcely be called sowing;) and probably there is no spot of land between the tropics, not absolutely desert, so destitute of either fruit or vegetable as the kingdom of Bornou. Mangoes are only found growing in the neighbourhood of Mandara and to the west; and with the exception of two or three lemon, or rather lime trees, and as many fig trees, in the garden of the sheikh at Kouka, raised on a spot of ground watched by himself, the care

and culture of which give employment to about fifty negroes, not a fruit of any description can be found in the whole kingdom. Date trees there are none south of Woodie, four days north of Kouka, where they are sickly, and produce but an indifferent fruit. Onions are to be procured near the great towns only, but no other vegetable. The people indeed have nothing beyond the bare necessities of life; and are rich only in slaves, bullocks, and horses. Their dress consists of one, two, or three tobés, or large shirts, according to the means of the wearer: a cap of dark blue is worn on the head by persons of rank. Others, indeed generally all, go bare-headed; the head being kept constantly free from hair, as well as every other part of the body. They carry an immense club, three or four feet in length, with a round head to it, which they put to the ground at every step, and walk with great solemnity, followed by two or three slaves: they have what we should call a rolling gait. Red caps are brought by the Tripoli and Mesurata merchants; but are only purchased by sultans and their immediate attendants. They are Musselmans, and very particular in performing their prayers and ablutions five times a day. They are less tolerant than the Arabs; and I have known a Bornouese refuse to eat with an Arab, because he had not *sully'd* (washed and prayed) at the preceding appointed hour.

(To be Continued.)

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### Greensborough, N. C. Auxiliary Society.

At an annual meeting of the Greensborough Auxiliary Society for the colonization of the free People of Color in the United States, held in Guilford county, North Carolina, on the 2d inst. it was:

Resolved, by the Society, to refer to the Board of Managers the subject of drafting a memorial or petition to our General Assembly, to request the general government to employ a part of the navy of the United States in aiding and assisting the American Colonization Society to remove the free People of Color to its colony in Africa; and that they report the same to the next meeting.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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[NO. IX.]

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**Important intelligence from Liberia.**

WE now present to our readers, the letters recently received from the Colonial Agent in Liberia; and trust, that they will awaken new interest, and excite to higher efforts in a cause so signally favoured by Providence, so evidently conducive to the best interests of our own country, and to the regeneration of Africa.

DEAR SIR:

MONROVIA, June 20th, 1826.

Dr. Peaco, whose health is so far repaired as to admit of his setting off for Sierra Leone to-morrow, will write the Board from that place. He hopes to return to the Cape in about four weeks. I leave it to him to report the state of health to the Board, only observing, that while 13-32 of the Vine's company have died, and the survivors seem not likely soon to recover their strength of body or of mind, (the latter having in a great majority of cases been severely shattered) the Indian Chief's company, if we except one family from Baltimore, and one from Virginia, have been in a great measure exempted from dangerous sickness. This is the more remarkable, as every individual has gone evidently through

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a course of fever; of which the symptoms in very many instances were only sufficiently developed to enable the Doctor to decide on the specific character of the disease.

Under Providence, this happy escape of so large a shipment from the customary affliction of recent emigrants, is to be attributed in part, to good houses, good attendance, a good supply of excellent medicines and hospital stores; but principally to the swamps and exhalations of the maritime counties of North Carolina, among which most of them were born, and all have spent the greater part of their lives. It is a circumstance which may well demand their gratitude to Heaven, that at this moment there is more health and less disease among these people than on the day they embarked at Norfolk.

In the note to Dr. Laurie, I state the ultimate success which has crowned our endeavours for eight months past to acquire Factory Island, the key to the Bassa District. I am more gratified with the circumstances attending this acquisition, than those of any preceding one. When the proposal to purchase was first laid before the proprietor and heads of the nation, it was received with a coldness which seemed to say, that, though disposed to be your friends, we will never resign to you an inch of our country. We want your trade, and we value it, but we value our country and independence more.—I was satisfied nothing could be gained, but much might be lost, by attempting to subdue, by unseasonable importunity, a reluctance apparently growing out of a prudent regard to their own interests.—A grant of the perpetual use of a tract of land on the south bank of the Southern Branch of the St. John's, was accordingly accepted for the present, in lieu of the Island. A factory was immediately established on this tract, for the benefit of the Colony; and James Benson, a very judicious and deserving colonist, who lost the use of an arm on the 11th of November, 1822, was made the superintendent, with particular instructions so to conduct the business of the factory, and otherwise demean himself in all his intercourse with the people of the country, as strongly to impress them with the superiority of our character, arts, morals, and means of happiness, and with the great advantages to be expected from a settlement of civilized people in the bosom of their country. I owe it to Mr. Benson's prudence and fidelity to state, that my views have been entirely ac-

complished by his manner of conducting the factory, and the management of every part of his delicate and responsible charge. The intended impression has been most effectually made. The King, and every head man of the country, I am told, became our advocate, with Joe Harris, the hereditary proprietor of Factory Island, and though naturally wary and suspicious in the extreme, Joe was evidently waiting with some little impatience to receive our overtures, when the proposal to purchase was submitted to him, through Mr. Benson, four weeks ago. The terms were accepted by him with a few small additions to the purchase-money, (as is usual in such transactions) and the purchase and cession confirmed without delay. The deed will be executed as soon as the Doctor or myself can visit Bassa;—and we are not without the hope of annexing one or two of the other islands forming the chain of which Factory Island is the last link, to the purchase. It is expected two or three families will take up their residence on this purchase, so soon as the rains shall a little abate, preparatory to the founding of a settlement, which may be expected in a very few years, to be second to no other in the Colony, except Monrovia.

Respectfully yours,

J. ASHMUN.

REV. R. R. GURLEY.

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*June 21st.*

DEAR SIR:

Every new thought requires a fresh letter.—I am obliged to procure, printed at the Sierra Leone press, and at an immoderate price, a couple of hundreds of blank land conveyances, which I have drawn up in a concise form, that lawyers will understand, when I say that it is that of the 2d part of the conveyance by “lease and release,” with the omission of the old, (and in England, the print) clause of warranty; in lieu of which, I have substituted a form of warranty sometimes used in the United States, and which is contained in a single period.

I wish that the best form may be drawn up by some experienced conveyancer, printed, and sent out, as soon as possible. They are much needed.—We also require blank certificates of the draft of their lots, by individuals—which shall specify in brief, the date of the draft, number of the lot, the town or settlement in which it is

situated, and the sort of tenure to obtain till titles are fully secured, with the conditions on which the titles are to be had.

Having, by the blessing of God, disposed so soon, and so snugly, of the whole company of emigrants last sent from the U. States, most of whom will be on their own lands, and in their own houses in four weeks from the present time, I trust you will not think it unreasonable in us to ask for more. Let them come, my dear sir, as soon as they can be despatched, provided lumber and six or eight months' stores come with them. If they come from the south, they cannot arrive very unseasonably in any part of the year.—More funds, more activity, more emigrants—and I am satisfied. Has the hope of liberal appropriations by the state legislatures, been given up? A slave-holding state must take the lead, and give an example in the exercise of this noblest of public charities. Others will then follow. I will even answer for my own (New-York) that she cannot—her *pride*, in default of better motives, will not let her rest indifferent to such an example.

My dear sir, a third time adieu,

J. ASHMUN.

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*August 3d, 1826.*

The papers of this packet dated "June," were despatched by the Fidelity, who carried them as far as Sierra Leone, and there transferred them on board of the schooner "Bona," Walstrum, Baltimore, bound more directly home. Capt. Walstrum is now at the Cape. I have recovered the letters, and shall add one or two of the present date. But I write in bed; nor have I been from it since the 5th day of July. You will discover from the penmanship, that I have lost little of my strength. But the injury I sustained in my left leg in forcing the landing of our troops at Trade Town on the 13th April, has proceeded to an alarming length, and for the last six weeks caused the severest suffering. I blame my neglect of the Doctor's prescriptions for the worst of it. But the business in hand at the time was the removing of the North Carolina settlers to Caldwell, which required my presence to direct the surveys, and seemed to admit neither of delay nor a substitute. I am not sure that I can believe the ulcer in a healing state, but the severity of pain has abated. I should visit



the United States by this schooner, but dare not commit so lame a limb to the uneasy action of so small a vessel, and to such nursing as could be expected aboard. So much for myself. My health, *crure excepto*, was never better; and I am still able to devote several hours, most days, to business.

J. ASHMUN.

Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

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MONROVIA, August 3d, 1826.

*The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

GENTLEMEN:

My long confinement to my room and bed, and the severe sufferings attending it, have prevented the attention I meant before this date, to have given to our *Census*—to the *Colonial Journal*—to my accounts, and to several other interesting subjects, on which particular information has been long due to the Board, and is in part prepared.—I have still little hope of an early recovery of the power of locomotion; and am not without apprehension as to the ulterior course of a malady of so obstinate and intractable a nature. But I owe it to the merciful Providence which has so signally kept, guided and assisted me in so many past dangers and sufferings, that my general health is as perfect as ever. The abatement of the rains (which are this season more immoderate and incessant than I have known them before) hold out the earliest prospect of any material amendment with which I dare flatter myself.

To add to our embarrassment, the Doctor is at present quite as ineffective as myself. He desired me last evening in a note to say, if I wrote home by Capt. Walstrum, that he did not expect to be strong enough to write. It is now two weeks since he has been laid side; but had before that time recovered very excellent health and spirits.—No fears are entertained as to any fatal termination of his indisposition.—The African climate has indeed proved hitherto but little at variance with his constitution. But he has suffered much from its debilitating influence.

From the 21st June to the last of July, Dr. Peacock was absent from the Colony on a visit to Sierra Leone; where, I am happy to state, he has satisfactorily settled and paid Mr. Macaulay's long-standing claim against the Agency.

We are called to mourn a very afflictive bereavement, in the loss

of the Rev. Mr. Holton, whose promise of usefulness in the Colony, was flattering in a high degree—and whose convalescence was at one time so advanced as to place him in our estimation quite out of immediate danger. A relapse, induced by a slight irregularity of his diet, carried him off suddenly, on Sunday the 23d of July, 3 P. M. Every reconciling circumstance, which for the solace of his friends, could well meet in the case of so premature and regretted a death, threw its cheering light upon the exit of this excellent young man. His hopes and treasure had gone before him to that immortal state of existence which his faith anticipated, and calmness, resignation and peace were the never absent companions of his breast, in every stage of his illness, quite to the moment of the awful transition.—His papers and most valuable personal effects will be sent by the next packet—together with those of the late Mr. Force.

On the 28th July, the Packet brig John, capt. Clough, from Portland, and the Bona, a schooner from Baltimore, then lying in our roads, were boarded from a piratical brig mounting 12 guns, and manned chiefly by Spaniards, and plundered to the amount,—the brig of \$2,500, the schooner of \$2,862. The brig is discovered to be a slaver—and is a sample of nearly all the slavers at present to be found on the coast.

We have intelligence, that not less than 8 of these vessels have combined their force for the restoration of Trade-town, (the slave station lately destroyed near the Colony,) that they have commenced a battery on shore, and intend to sustain the traffic in the face of all the cruising force, that will be likely to be sent against it.—The brig which visited us on the 28th July was armed and manned from this depôt, for the expedition. The English cruisers capture slavers, on the presumption of their piratical character, with very little discrimination, and seldom fail to procure their speedy condemnation. But what is to be our situation if the establishment of these marauders at Trade-town is suffered to take place, and become permanent?—They have already given us an earnest of it. The fact is apparent, that the piratical practices of the West Indies, temporarily suppressed in that quarter, are every day renewing themselves in a more systematic array, and determined form, on this coast.—The slave trade is the pretext under which expensive armaments are fitted out every

week from Havana, and desperadoes enlisted for enterprises to this country; in which, on their arrival, the trade is either foregone entirely, or attended to as a mere secondary object, well suited to conceal from cruisers they may fall in with, their real object. I pledge myself, if called upon, to show from the evidence of incontestable facts, that this account, applies to a large proportion of the Spanish (soidisant) guinea-men at present swarming to this part of the world. Scarcely an American trading vessel has for the last 12 months been on this coast, as low as lat. 6° N. without suffering either insult or plunder, from these Spaniards. Dr. Peaco is equally desirous with myself to represent these facts effectually to the Secretary of the Navy.—It must readily occur that a force equal at least to a *sloop of war* is necessary to subdue and crush such formidable combinations, as are to be met with, of these outlaws, on the coast.

I have judged it advisable to send for preservation in the Society's office, rough, but accurate plans of the surveys from time to time accomplished,—of the public buildings, &c. The former taken from the authentic records of the Colony. Accompanying, I send

I. A complete survey of the St. Paul's—Caldwell-settlement—with the surrounding country.

II. A survey of the Stockton, including the *Half-way farms*, and showing the position of these farms relatively to Caldwell.

III. The town and settlement of Monrovia—completed from the last surveys.

IV. Front side-view of the Market house of Monrovia—building.

V. End and side views of the Lancasterian school and town house of Monrovia; now nearly completed.

I also send the final receipt and discharge of the St. Paul's Kings, for the purchase money of the territory on that river.

The purchase of *Factory Island*, was definitely concluded early in July.

The boats sent out by the Government promise to be of inestimable utility to the Colony, Our establishment at the Sesters, altho' within 5 miles of Trade-town, is still sustained—cultivation, building and trade, are carrying on there on a small scale; but for want of rainy-season-craft, little has been done to advance it since

the month of May.—Bassa-factory is a source of very valuable supplies to the Colony. We keep up at this inclement season, an intercourse with this place along the beach—but the transportation of goods or produce by this route is expensive and laborious—and there is a considerable amount of property remaining there which we leave to the dry season.

I cannot well express to the Board, the general gratification felt here in the establishment, at length, of a line of packets between the United States and this Colony, on which it is believed dependence can be safely placed.—The entire cargo of the brig John, (the first of the line) which arrived July 22d from Portland, the 9th of April, was instantly purchased—and another vessel is expected early in October.

The board will recollect the mention of the arrangement with Mr. C. merchant of Portland, in a former letter, by which he engaged to place two or more brigs on this line, in order that four arrivals may be depended upon in the year. I stated to him (Mr. C.) explicitly, that he must engross the trade of the Colony only by means of a fair competition, and this he might do for the present, by

1st. Making the supplies certain.

2d. Laying in all such goods and stores, and such only, as should be ordered.

3d. Always bringing a deck-load of lumber.\*

4th. Holding his merchandise, &c. at the following prices—

Tobacco,	100	per cent. on the American Invoice.
Rum,	75	do. do.
Salted provisions,	45	do. do.
Flour,	75	do. do.
Butter, Lard,	75	do. do.
Lumber,	100	do. and all other goods and merchandise, at 50 per cent.

The experiment has completely justified the anticipation on which it was founded. Our port regulations prohibiting on penalty of the forfeiture of the amount, any goods introduced into the Colony, from being sold on credit—when I say that the cargo of

\* In the consignment per the John has arrived 42 Ms. feet of lumber, and 8 house frames.—I have bought for the public and for myself 4 frames and 9 M. feet boards.—Dr. P. nearly an equal quantity.

the John has been wholly disposed of in ten days, the Board will understand me to say that it has all been also *paid for*.—The amount, after deducting the part carried off by the pirates on the 28th, is about \$11,000.

The Board will learn on the arrival of the John in the United States, probably about the middle of October, that I have judged it necessary to purchase a quantity of provisions and merchandise in order to carry our numerous emigrants by the Vine and Indian Chief, through the rains, and pay, at an early date, for Factory Island. The bills for the balance not paid in wood, will be at 30 days sight.

Either the Dr. or myself will probably visit the United States before another expedition can leave that country for the Colony. I shall probably yield the point to him, as I am too thoroughly African in my habit, I fear, to survive the severity of an American winter: and must wait the return of another summer.

My note of June, respecting the establishment of a colonial wholesale store, must now be taken in connexion with the fact, at the date of that letter not known, that Mr. C. has acceded to a proposal of a similar nature—which, tho' it does not wholly preclude the utility of another store, yet diminishes the probability of the profits being so great or so certain, as was before to be anticipated.

The great work at this moment in hand, and in which we have called upon all the colonists to assist, is the construction of a battery at Thompson-town, on a shelf 80 feet above the water, to overlook and command our roads. We are transporting the heaviest of our guns there—and erecting a roofed breast-work of turf and mason-work, which is intended to be entirely shot-proof. Our best gunners say, that from the position chosen, the long guns will hull a vessel lying at the customary anchorage oftener than every second shot: and from repeated trials I do not doubt it. Friendly vessels can draw up under the land out of the reach of any annoying force not exposed to the shot of the battery: which it is intended to make impossible for any slaving ships to stand.

The Board is respectfully solicited to direct their early attention to the deplorable want of schools under which the Colony now labours. All our former arrangements are confounded, and our hopes blasted on this interesting subject, by the lamented death of

the Rev. Mr. Holton. A gentleman from the southern part of the country, especially the alluvial country of the southern states, need be under no apprehension of suffering severely or permanently in his health in consequence of removing to Africa.—A female of superior accomplishments for training our numerous girls and young women, is scarcely less needed than the first. And as our hopes have been so highly excited by the provision made for carrying on the printing establishment, a severe mortification and several sore inconveniences must be the consequence of a disappointment in regard to it.—The patronage that will be afforded to a paper by the settlers will diminish the burden of supporting a printer.

*August 4th.*

It has been this morning determined that Dr. Peaco should visit the United States, by the Liberia packet John, which may be expected some time in October, to arrive at Boston.—The reasons we have to assign, are

1st. The restoration of the Doctor's health.

2d. To report to the Navy Department, the exact state of the Agency—and of the exposed state of the American commerce on this coast, and to procure, if possible, an immediate visit of a ship of war to this country.—He may likewise be very useful in forwarding another outfit to Africa, and intends, *at all events*, to return so soon as another company of emigrants shall arrive.—The John is expected to sail from Montserado about the 15th of August (inst.)

Respectfully, gentlemen,

I have the honour to remain, your obedient servant,

J. ASHMUN.

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The following statement is an approximation to the true amount of exports, obtained from the best data that can at this time be recurred to.—It is my opinion that the ivory is considerably overrated—and the wood underrated in nearly the same proportion.

*A.*

*Statement of Exports from Liberia, of African produce passing thro' the hands of the settlers, from the 1st of January, to the 15th of June, 1826.*

By the Union of Portland, January, 130 tons wood,	2	½	tons ivory,
“ Union of Bristol, Eng. do.	40	do.	½ do.

By the Paragon of Boston, January,	20	tons wood,	1	ton ivory,
“ L’African of Nantes, do.	10	do.	1	do.
“ Miles Standish of Prov. Feb.	12	do.	2	do.
“ Vine of Boston, do.	6	do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	do.
“ Harriet of Barbadoes, do.	25	do.	1	do.
“ Lala Rookh of S. Leone, do.	40	do.	3	do.
“ Pedlar of R. Island, do.	10	do.	$\frac{1}{4}$	do.
“ James Cumberman of Barbadoes,				
March, 12	do.		$\frac{1}{2}$	do.
“ Pitt of Bristol, Eng. do.	2	do.	$\frac{1}{4}$	do.
“ Indian Chief of Norfolk, April, 6	do.		$\frac{1}{2}$	do.
“ Teresa of Laguayra do.	4	do.	$\frac{1}{3}$	do.
“ Tom Cod of Bristol, Eng. do.	4	do.	$\frac{1}{2}$	do.
“ Fidelity of Baltimore, June, 12	do.		2	do.

Total, 333 tons wood, 16 tons ivory.

African selling value,  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Wood at } \$60-\$19,980 \\ \text{Ivory at 75 cts.}-\$24,000 \end{array} \right\} \$43,980$

The gross profit to the Exporters of the foregoing produce is,—  
 On the sale of the goods given in barter for it, - \$21,990  
 On the freight, or enhanced value, in the American and  
 European market, above the African value, - - 8,796

Total profit, \$30,786

The whole of this profit might have been secured to the Society by two voyages of her vessels, had the proposed commercial establishment been in full operation; and the primary object of transporting emigrants, been successfully going on at the same time.\*

### B.

*Proposed Tariff of selling prices at the Society’s Colonial warehouse, compared with the prices actually paying by Colonists to transient trading vessels.*

Articles.	Quantity.	Proposed prices.	Actual prices.
Tobacco, - - -	100lbs.	\$15	\$25
Lumber, - - -	m ft.	30	45

\* It ought to be stated that the funds of the Society have never been adequate to justify regular trade with Liberia.

Articles.	Quantity.	Proposed prices.	Actual prices.
Pipes per box, - -	box.	5	7
Powder, - - -	qr.	7	9
Pork, - - - -	bbl.	16	21
Beef, - - - -	bbl.	13	17
Flour, - - - -	bbl.	9	13
Mackarel No. 2, -	bbl.	8	12
Assorted Domestic cotton, 10	yds.	16	22
Butter, - - -	lb.	25	50
Cheese, - - -	lb.	20	50
Lard, - - - -	lb.	20	40
Hams and Bacon, -	lb.	20	40
Corn Meal, - - -	bbl.	7 50	10
Nails, - - - -	lb.	10	15
Iron Pots, &c, - -	cwt.	\$10	\$12
Bar Iron, - - -	cwt.	9	10
Muscovado Sugar, -	lb.	16	20
Molasses, - - -	gall.	50	75
India Stuffs, - -	yd.	16	25

These prices are fixed at about 75 per cent. advance on the American invoice prices,—50 per cent would ensure a more certain and rapid sale. But would it indemnify the seller? As there are no port charges nor duties to be paid, and no vessel will be subjected to more than 20 to 25 days delay, it is believed it may.

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[COMMUNICATED.]

## Review of Denham and Clapperton's expedition to Central Africa.

From the earliest times, in the most civilized and the most barbarous ages, repeated attempts have been made to become acquainted with the interior of the great continent of Africa. The ancients knew but its external borders, and those imperfectly. In their superstitious minds, Africa became the unexplored region of all that was wonderful in nature. The black colour of its inhabi-



tants, unusual to the rest of the human species, the vast and impenetrable deserts, and the fate of those who had attempted to explore them, inflamed their curiosity and excited their imaginations. Vague reports of spots of fertile ground in oceans of sand, and rumours of what had been seen by travellers more fortunate than others, gave rise to innumerable fictions. The Islands of the Blessed, whither the souls of the good were transported after death, the monstrous proportions of the human form, the wonders of animate and inanimate nature, the uncontrollable reign of savage beasts, were soon located in Africa or beyond its distant shores. It was therefore with undisguised awe that the ancients penetrated a little way into the interior, or sailed along the Atlantic coast. The most powerful nations of the time did indeed establish colonies upon its northern shores, that bind the Mediterranean; and some of those colonies attained a higher degree of wealth and civilization than even their founders. Among them, Carthage rose to be the rival and almost conqueror of Rome: and the ruins which now strew the skirts of the desert, and are found at several days' journey within it, indicate the former existence of powerful, refined, and populous communities. Nevertheless, the interior of the continent they inhabited, and its borders washed by the western ocean, were more unknown, apparently, to them than us. There are accounts of Phœnician, Carthaginian, Roman, and Grecian voyages, and expeditions by Roman and Egyptian armies, some of which were probably famished or overwhelmed in the sands of the desert, for they never returned; but no information has reached us, derived from them. For the most part, superstition, a want of those means of exploring which we possess, and a less enlightened curiosity, prevented or paralyzed their efforts.

Africa was thus descending, enveloped in fables, to posterity, when, in the middle ages, the followers of Mahomet, impelled by religious frenzy, burst into its enchanted bounds, penetrated to the centre of the continent, subjected all the natives to the Koran, and gave them permanently the Prophet's name. Chimeras fled and monsters vanished before the cimeters of the Faithful. But, unfortunately, the Saracens, though they afterwards became the most learned and polished people in the world, were then more zealous preachers and rapacious conquerors than inquisitive

travellers. Their object was to plunder, not to describe; to convert, not to enlighten: and they left Africa for us in almost the same darkness that they found it.

Considerable of knowledge, however, of that continent, was obtained from them; and their accounts have been proved by subsequent ones, to have been remarkably authentic. The Arab felt at home in the desert; it reminded him of his tents and flocks on the other side of the Red Sea. His migratory spirit and commercial habits led him wandering into the remotest regions, that his arms had reached, and even beyond the boundaries of his conquests. Mounted on his camel, distance to him was nothing. He revealed to us the existence in Central Africa, of great rivers, lakes, and towns, and populous and powerful states comparatively civilized; and gave an accurate, though not minute, description of the black inhabitants, their monarchs, manners, wars, and customs. "The only parts of the interior," says Dr. Leyden, "on which the Arabs made no impression, were Arabia and Abyssinia." The more southern part of the continent, where it begins to taper, also escaped their dominion: but even it, far towards the south along the eastern coast, is tinged with their religious belief and domestic customs.

How long these nations and cities had existed, when and by whom founded, it is impossible to learn. The irruption of the Arabs\* into Africa took place in the 7th century of the Christian era. During that and the next centuries, they gradually extended themselves over Asia, along the African shore of the Mediterranean, and ultimately into Spain; where they founded a magnificent kingdom. From thence they attempted, with a large army, to subdue France; but their further progress into Europe was there checked, for they were repulsed by Charles Martel, near Poitiers, with immense slaughter. Their unwieldy empire, after some centuries, lost all cohesion, and broke into several, each too large. Those of Spain and Bagdad attained the highest refinement and opulence. But they were all, sooner or later, weakened and ruined by civil wars and luxury. "Compulsory exile," says Dr. Leyden again, "has always been a powerful instrument in peopling the globe. Those (the natives of Africa) who fled be-

\* Called Saracens from Sara, or Sahara, a desert; because they came from the deserts of Arabia.

fore the Saracens, and those who were worsted in the intestine divisions that shook the Caliphate,\* alike sought refuge and settlements in the depth of the interior. The precise period of the emigrations cannot be distinctly traced; but it is unquestionable, that, by the 10th or 11th century, the banks of the Niger were covered with kingdoms, in which Mahometans formed a numerous and a ruling part of the population." In several of the Negro tribes, those especially which live nearer to the western coast, only a faint tradition and some slight observances remain of their invasion. The Giagas, for instance, relate that, many years ago, a fierce people from the north overran their country and subdued them to the Koran; but that some time afterwards they revolted, and expelled their oppressors. This is probably the history of most of the Arabian conquests in the interior of Africa: at first an inundation, sweeping all before it, and impressing its own hue and character on all, and then, a reflux of the invaders,—their passage to some other region,—their gradual intermixture with the vanquished;—or, perhaps, their extermination. After you cross the great desert of the north, it is only here and there that you find a compact settlement of Moors† and Arabs,—a village, town, or nation of them; if, indeed, there be any of the latter.‡ But themselves, individually, you meet with, as merchants, travellers, soldiers, monarchs, pilgrims, and priests, throughout the continent. Their foot-steps are every where; and their intermingling with the original inhabitants has produced a singular confusion, or variety, of languages, colours, and customs.

What the Arabs themselves did not learn, or did not care to re-

\* Caliph or Kalif means Vicar. The head of the Mahomedan empire, the Commander of the Faithful, was both the temporal successor and spiritual vicar of the prophet. In the divisions of the empire, however, there arose rival caliphs. The followers of Ali had one in Persia, and there was another at Bagdad, among the true and orthodox believers. A third afterwards arose in Africa, but was crushed by Saladin. Now, every petty despot of a tribe assumes that holy title, or that of Sultan, or any other pompous one that suits his vanity or fancy.

† They were called Moors, from Mauritania; through which they passed, and from which the ignorant thought they came, on their way into the south of Europe.

‡ The Shouaas are an exception.

port, they have enabled us, by their caravans that cross the deserts in all directions, to ascertain; and it is to their inroad and conquest, their pursuit of commerce, their geographical and astronomical studies, their propensity to wander, that we ultimately owe nearly all the knowledge we have of Africa.

The next account we have of that country is from Leo, surnamed Africanus, a native of Grenada in Spain. When that city, the capital of the Moorish kingdom, was taken by Ferdinand and Isabella, he sought refuge in Fez. Learned in Arabic literature, he traversed, partly as a traveller and partly as an ambassador, a great part of the continent, and wrote a description of it in Arabic. This he afterwards translated into Italian, under the auspices of Pope Leo Xth, at Rome, whither he had been carried as a prisoner. The information which he affords is very interesting and important, and has generally been found to be correct. He noted the changes and revolutions that had taken place between the time of preceding accounts and his own; and from his relation subsequent observers learn how many mutations have since ensued, occasioned by the frequent wars and unsettled character of those barbarous tribes and empires.

It was only in the beginning of the 15th century, that the attention of modern Europe was directed to Africa. The Portuguese, to extend their dominion, enlarge their knowledge, increase their wealth, and spread the Gospel, pushed their discoveries gradually along its western coasts, until, about the middle of the century, they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened the channel of an immense and lucrative commerce with the Indies. They not only proceeded on to China, and possessed themselves of a large extent of Asiatic territory, but established factories and forts at the most suitable points around the coasts of Africa. They explored the Gold Coast, Congo, and Benin, and sailed far up the Senegal and Zaire, built towns on the eastern coast, of which the ruins indicate that they had begun to be populous and flourishing, penetrated a considerable distance into the country, and traded with the numerous tribes that inhabit the extensive regions on the sea-board. Their researches, and the character of the natives whom they saw, we shall take some future opportunity of detailing: at present, our object merely is, to give a sketch of the progress of attempts to penetrate into Central Af-

rica. It is not much to the credit of the Portuguese, that with all their facilities they should have acquired or transmitted so little information about the continent.

Their discoveries, however, and the wealth which they seemed to be about to realize in Africa, and the growing spirit of enterprise and curiosity, which had already led to the settlement of America, prompted other nations to follow their example. The French were the first to imitate them; and in the 17th and 18th centuries, carried their researches further than any other people had done before. They succeeded better than any other Europeans in accustoming the red men of America and the black men of Africa to the habits and thoughts of civilized society; and it is remarkable, with what apparent ease and safety they penetrated into unknown and barbarous regions, and intermixed themselves in friendly intercourse with their inhabitants. While they were fixing their line of forts along the lakes of Canada, and down the waters of the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi, they were holding palavers on the Senegal and Gambia. Perhaps their amiable manners, their affability and cheerfulness, suited unsophisticated man the best; while their freedom from bigotry, and the noted readiness with which they accommodate themselves to circumstances, enabled them to avoid every occasion of offence.

They were not long permitted to enjoy the fruit of their labours. In their wars with England, they soon lost their transmarine possessions, and with them yielded to the conquerors their interest and enterprise. All their connections with Africa were relinquished, but one,—the slave-trade; which still inflicts a stain on their white flag.

ENGLAND now took the lead in African discoveries, and pursued them with her accustomed ardour and liberality, and a success beyond all preceding attempts. Her expeditions have rectified all former narratives, and by their scientific observations and indubitable veracity, have added a vast store to our knowledge of the external borders, and especially the interior of the continent. They have carried her name where her rivals have never been heard of, and claimed respect and friendship for their sovereign from the kings and emperors of CENTRAL AFRICA. She is still “in the full tide of successful experiment;” and may she be re-

warded by a present addition to her commercial wealth, and the future blessings of a regenerated race!

While so many nations have thus successively, with various results, been occupied with Africa, the United States have done comparatively nothing, in a cause so worthy to enlist the generous exertions of an enlightened people. From the nature of a part of our population, we should be more interested in the success of those exertions than any other country; and from our situation, our form of government, and the character of our citizens, none, we hope, are better suited for the prosecution of such designs. It would be singular and shameful indeed, had we been as indifferent as inactive. The subject has attracted the attention of patriots, philanthropists, and statesmen among us, for many years, in every quarter of the union; and has excited as much discourse and proper feeling, as in any other part whatever of the world. Nevertheless, our efforts have been feeble, the efforts of individuals: feeble, indeed, if you consider the ultimate and grand result in view; but powerful, perhaps, in as much as they have elicited the decided approbation of the wise and good.—But this topic concerns rather the external belt and borders of Western Africa than its central regions, and rather America, indeed, than Africa. We reserve it for a subsequent number.

Having reviewed the efforts of nations in African discovery, it may be interesting to examine those of individuals. Their travels and adventures in that unknown region, among its motley and barbarous population, excite the attention more than any other narratives with which we are acquainted. The repeated failures that have preceded the attempts in which they are engaged, the importance of success, the novelty of the scene, the uncertainty of the result, the mysteries in which their further progress is enveloped, awakens our curiosity, and inspires the generous and pleasing desire of participating in their vicissitudes of suffering and joy.

Among them stands first in time and merit the African Association.\* It was instituted, in England, in 1788, for the purpose of exploring Africa and meliorating the condition of its inhabitants, and was composed of gentlemen of the highest rank and distinc-

\* The Sierra Leone Company, Bulama Company, African Institution, &c. confined themselves principally to the object of *colonizing*, and have ultimately succeeded. Without it nothing effectual and permanent can be done.

tion. Collecting ample funds, the association employed persons of enterprise and intelligence, to penetrate to the interior of the continent. It was their good fortune and merit, to meet with such men as Ledyard, the celebrated American traveller, Lucas, Houghton, Mungo Park, Horneman, &c. They made the attempt from almost every quarter; from the Western Coast, from Barbary, from Egypt, from the East, and from the countries that surrounded the Cape. Of most of them, we shall not say any thing at present; as it is our purpose to resume the subject hereafter, and give a summary of our knowledge of Africa, and the means by which it has been acquired, with regard to the project of establishing colonies on the Western Coast. At present we shall notice, or merely name, those who have endeavoured to penetrate into the centre, that we may better appreciate the labours and success of the gentlemen whose narrative is now before us. The devotion of them all to the dangerous pursuit, has been equalled only by their valuable discoveries and the melancholy fate of many. Ledyard lost his life by fever at Cairo, Nichols died of the same disease at Calabar, Leetzur was poisoned by a treacherous native, Houghton perished of hunger in the desert, Horneman, who had studied the Arabic language, assumed the name of Jussuf, and disguised himself as a Mahomedan, the better to effect his purpose, has now been absent for twenty-five or twenty-six years; and no certain tidings of his fate had reached us, before the recent expedition of Denham and Clapperton. Several years after his departure, a vague rumour only was brought to the coast by natives from the interior, that Jussuf was in Central Africa, highly revered as a Marabout or Mahomedan saint. No doubt was subsequently entertained, that he had perished by disease or accident, or in consequence of the detection of his real character. Clapperton met, at Kano, two Fezzan merchants residing there, who said they had been with Jussuf at the time of his death; that he passed himself off as an English merchant professing the Mahomedan faith, and died at Nyffe, of the dysentery. His papers, (which must have contained invaluable information,) together with a learned Felatah to whom he had entrusted them, were burnt, for fear of sorcery, by the superstitious natives. Mungo Park, after one arduous journey, partially successful, plunged again into the fatal country. A note, written by him from the banks of the Ni-

ger, was received; and he, as the recent expedition also learnt, was shortly afterwards massacred or drowned near Yaoury, lower down the river. Some of his books and papers are said to be in the hands of the Sultan or Governor of that place, and may be yet recovered.

While the Association were thus actively and efficiently employed, though at the expense of such inestimable lives, many private individuals, urged by curiosity, or thrown upon the coast by accident, penetrated into Africa in various directions and to various distances. Two American sailors, Adams and Riley, who were shipwrecked on the coast of Sahara, and carried by the Moors into the interior, gave some information respecting the country and its inhabitants. Their veracity has been much disputed, and no doubt in many cases justly; but the broader features of their narratives seem entitled to more credit, than the unimportant anecdotes with which they have embellished them; and whenever they unwittingly corroborate facts imperfectly ascertained before, we may believe them. A good deal of knowledge of the interior has also been obtained by English consuls and others, residing at the towns along the coast, from the natives who resort thither for the purposes of commerce.

The most celebrated private British travellers are Bruce and Salt, who entered the continent by Egypt and Abyssinia. Although they did not succeed in getting very far into what we call Central Africa, they gathered many interesting particulars about those nations whom they could not reach. Every further step of our progress has vindicated the veracity of Bruce; whose fate it was to be doubted, contradicted, and ridiculed during his life, for a narrative that is now found to be true. Campbell, and several other enterprising individuals, also accomplished journeys from the Cape of Good Hope and the eastern coast; but they did not reach the interior, and their discoveries may be noticed in a subsequent number.

The difficulties attending the exertions of individuals and companies, the fruitlessness and melancholy termination of most of their efforts, had almost checked the zeal of African discovery. Curiosity, raised to the highest pitch and baffled, was about to sink into indifference. But at the critical moment, the British



government, from an enlightened view of their commercial interests and for the benefit of science, resolved to undertake, themselves, the exploration of the continent. Nor did they confine their views to Africa. Their vessels of discovery are on every sea, their exploring parties on every shore. Franklin has penetrated, over land, to the northern and north-western coasts of America, that jut out farthest towards the pole: and while Parry is resuming his intrepid attempts to survey the same coasts by sea, and push on, if he can, to the very pole, King, who examined in 1818 and 1822 the coasts of the great continent of Australia, has turned his prow to the southern pole, to prosecute there the same inquiries that Parry and Franklin are making in the north. Owen has just returned from a minute examination of the eastern coasts of Africa, of which an account is about to be given to the public, which cannot fail to be highly interesting and useful. Denham and Clapperton have hardly escaped from Central Africa, when we hear of Laing and Clapperton's having accomplished half their journey, on their return thither by a new route, the former from the north, the latter from Benin in the south.

The British government enjoy great advantages and facilities in their expeditions into Africa; and it is to their honour that they have so amply availed themselves of them. By their connection and influence with the States of Barbary, who are masters of a portion of the desert, and can traverse the rest, from their power and religion, in safety, and who were known to have commercial and political relations with the countries of the interior, they could command such assistance as would ensure success. In 1818, by a previous arrangement with the Bashaw of Tripoli, Mr. Ritchie and Capt. Lyon were despatched on the arduous but important and interesting service of penetrating to the centre of the Continent. On the 22d of March, 1819, they set out in a caravan with the Bey of Fezzan, to whom the Bashaw had entrusted them; and passing through Sockna, Sebbah and other towns of the desert, arrived at Mourzuk, after twenty-two days' journey. This was the farthest point that they were to reach. The Bey, designing to plunder them on apprehending that they might do something, in the countries through which they travelled, to weaken his authority or diminish the profits of his traffic, detained them pur-

posely in that unwholesome climate, the hottest\* in all Africa, and continually harrassed them, to interrupt their further progress. In consequence, Ritchie lost his life by fever, and Lyon was compelled to retrace his steps.

Lying in the high road of the caravans that pass from the interior to the Mediterranean, and being the capital of Fezzan whither people from all parts resorted to buy and sell, and whence excursions were often made to levy tribute from subject provinces and tribes, or to plunder neighbouring and independent ones, no point could be better situated for collecting information, than Mourzuk. But as the same region has been since traversed, under more favorable circumstances, by the recent expedition, we shall not, at present, notice their accounts more particularly.

Not discouraged by this failure, another attempt was planned more perfectly, destined to have the happiest issue, and to afford us more knowledge of Africa than any preceding one. The gentlemen selected to carry it into effect, were Major Denham, Captain Clapperton, and Doctor Oudney, who took with them William Hillman, an intelligent shipwright. They left Tripoli after several months of preparation, on the 5th of March, 1822, and set out on their journey across the desert. In 14 days they reached Sockna, a town half way between Tripoli and Mourzuk. Here they were welcomed by the inhabitants, with every appearance of sincere satisfaction. "We were the first English travellers," says Major Denham, "who had resisted the persuasion that a disguise was necessary, and who had determined to travel in our real character as Britons and Christians, and to wear, on all occasions, our English dresses; nor had we, at any future period, occasion to regret that we had done so." It obviated the jealousy and distrust that would have been excited, by an assumed character which could not have been so skilfully supported as to impose upon the natives. "In trying," he continues, "to make ourselves appear as Mussulmans, we should have been set down as real impostors."

Sockna is a walled town about a mile in circumference; and contains upwards of 3,000 inhabitants. The country around

\* The thermometer stands, at 2 P. M. at from 106° to 133° for 6 or 7 months together.

produces excellent dates in abundance. Upon them the horses and camels are fed, and appeared, in a day or two, to eat them as willingly as corn.

“On the 7th of April they arrived at Mourzuk. The country through which they had passed, was diversified by the rich valley of Beniooled, arid vallies overhung by hills of loose rocks, and plains of fine sand, with here and there, rocky eminences and patches of gravel, intermixed with fragments of shells. Often, for a considerable extent, not the least vegetation; and in no place was the ground completely covered with it, except where there happened to be a little moisture. These were the outskirts of the desert.

At Mourzuk the party met with vexatious delays, similar to those that had opposed their predecessors. Seeing that the only way of overcoming the difficulty, was to appeal to a higher power than the Sultan, Major Denham, leaving his companions, returned to Tripoli, and laid his complaints before the Bashaw. Not receiving satisfactory answers, he embarked for Marseilles, on his way to England, to represent the violation of the Bashaw's promise to his government. While lying at quarantine at Marseilles, he received a message from the Bashaw, requesting him to return, and informing him that arrangements had been made, which would enable them to penetrate, without delay or danger, into the centre of the continent. He immediately went back; and, on the 30th of October, rejoined his companions at Mourzuk.

*(To be Continued.)*

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## **Extracts from Correspondents.**

We have evidence in our possession, that the public sentiment of our country is growing, daily, more favorable to the design of our Institution. Confident that our cause is holy, we bless God for its advancement, and while we rejoice that the African Colony is protected and prospered, we are no less happy to perceive that its friends are becoming more numerous, decided, and active.—To our enemies (if any such we have) we would say, “if this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.”

*From a gentleman in Georgia. November 12th, 1826.*

"I enclose five dollars for the Colonization Society. I feel it to be due for the pleasure I have derived from the African Repository. I see with pain, that the funds of the Society are in a depressed state, and heartily wish, I could afford to send some efficient aid. May the Lord bless this mite, and abundantly bless the Institution for which you are labouring."

*From a member of the Society of Friends, North Carolina. November 11th, 1826.*

"We have just returned from our annual meeting, and are authorized to get off to Liberia as many of the free people of colour as we can, in case you should charter a vessel this fall. We are now waiting for that information; and I therefore write to thee on the subject, being one of the Trustees and Managers of that people in this part of the country, and being anxious to ameliorate their and our condition by colonizing them in Africa, which plan, I do (and I believe people generally in this State,) approve in preference to sending them to Hayti or to any other place. Therefore thee will please write me immediately in reference to another shipment.

"Perhaps I may add, that it is presumed the number which will be willing to go, is about the same as in the last expedition, (I mean in this part of the country) though we cannot speak positively, for they seem at times encouraged, and at others discouraged. Our Auxiliary Society, at their last meeting, appointed a committee to draft a memorial to our State Legislature for aid in this great and glorious undertaking."

*From a Society of female Friends, N. Carolina. Nov. 12th, 1826.*

"The yearly meeting of women—Friends of North Carolina, feeling grateful for the many favors which the Society of Friends have received from the Colonization Society by the kind assistance they have given, and are still offering them in the removal of the free people of color, under our care, to a land in which they may enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen;—Friends from these motives have made a donation of fifty dollars, to the Society, which now awaits thy orders, in our hands.

"With desires that the blessing of Heaven may rest on the en-

deavours of all who are engaged in this work of humanity and justice, we subscribe ourselves thy friends."

*From a gentleman in Virginia. November 14th, 1826.*

"You will find enclosed fifty dollars, the amount of our collections for the current year. As to the prospects of our Society, I feel more encouraged than ever. I am decidedly of opinion that popular prejudice against us is losing strength. Our last anniversary was one of peculiar interest."

*From a gentleman in South Carolina.*

"Among the many praiseworthy exertions of the present age, in the cause of humanity, none more loudly calls for the patronage of our common country, than that of African Colonization. It is indeed gratifying to hear from so many different parts of our country, voices with a distinct tone, giving it their unreserved approbation. The plan of Colonization is of heavenly origin, has by heaven been prospered, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it. Actuated by this belief, I contribute to its aid the enclosed mite, \$5. In doing this, I am persuaded that I do nothing more than what every lover of his country will do when he becomes acquainted with its design, success and prospects. As far as possible, let the exertions of citizens be united in carrying on, calmly but unremittingly, whatever plans it may be most judicious to adopt to further the interest of this cause. Private bounty, may indeed be inadequate to the work. The most which can be done in this way perhaps is to put our plans in a progressive state, and it is to be hoped, that Government will ultimately furnish whatever means a sound policy may dictate."

*From a gentleman in Ohio. November 1st, 1826.*

"As in all my letters, I have nothing to report but success.—Opposition I find almost invariably to give way to information."

*From another in the same State. October, 1826.*

"Public sentiment, is, I think becoming more favorable towards your Society. A small collection was made here on the fourth of July which has been forwarded. I hope we may continue the plan. May the good cause prosper, and a free, enlightened and

Christian nation spring up on the coast of Africa, and that benighted land be made to rejoice in its influence."

*From another in the same State.*

"Your Agent was here some time in October, and succeeded in laying the foundation of an Auxiliary Colonization Society. The members of the Society, to the number of eighty, met on the first of this month and elected their officers and Board of Managers. I am happy to say that most of the Managers are not only men of influence but zealous in the cause. There is in our treasury at present about forty dollars, and the members of the Board think it may be increased to four times that amount. Some think to ten or twenty times that sum. I have no doubt that in the course of the year I can procure many subscribers to the African Repository."

*From another in the same State. Oct. 11th, 1826.*

"In every attempt which I have made to form Societies, I have been successful; and in every case, I have been seconded by the most distinguished talents and piety.

"I am now spending a little time at home, but as soon as practicable shall make another tour. I am solicited to various places. Indeed the spirit of enquiry is awakened, and I could have pleasant and I think successful employment in this honourable cause, while a village remained without a Society."

*From the same. Oct. 4th, 1826.*

"I have the pleasure to announce to you the formation of four additional auxiliaries, since the date of my last. Sir, the prospects of the cause are brightening every day. Among those who have joined and supported our infant Societies, are four or five of our present members of Congress, and many others of equal standing and talents. I feel gratified, when I reflect, that within one month past, I have formed ten prosperous Societies, and have excited a spirit of general enquiry on the subject in this part of the State. But, sir, I repeat that this success results from the justice, the benevolence, the policy, and piety of your plans, and not from the zeal and ability of its advocate."

*From the same. Nov. 27th, 1826.*

"I am happy to see the cause advancing in our country. Since my last, I have formed several Societies. The most intelligent

and influential members of our community, almost universally support our design. I am invited to Kentucky and Indiana, but have more to do in Ohio than will soon be accomplished. I have conversed with several intelligent gentlemen from Indiana, who are hearty in the cause. You may think me enthusiastic, but although I have been at home but twenty-four hours, I have received, since my arrival, communications on this subject, from persons comparatively distant, thrice the measure of this protracted epistle."

*From a gentleman in Pennsylvania. Dec. 2d, 1826.*

"There is not in ——— any formidable hostility to the Colonization plan, but the people require to be well informed on the subject; and I am satisfied that the most efficient means of exciting a favourable feeling towards it, will be to lay before them a complete exposition of facts well authenticated, which shall contain argument in themselves.

"I am persuaded, that the attention of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania may be attracted, and their feelings excited, by a proper exposition of the subject."

*From another gentleman in the same State. Oct. 24th, 1826.*

"After an eloquent and interesting address by your agent, the Rev. Mr. Peers, before a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of this village, a Society was established auxiliary to the American Colonization Society. Satisfied that nothing is wanting in this section of country to interest the best feelings of the citizens in favour of your Society, but a knowledge of its objects, principles, and doings, we appointed a committee to make publications, for the purpose of giving them that knowledge. To enable that committee to do this the better, it is wished that we may receive such reports as you may conveniently spare."

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## Masonic Benevolence.

In our number for July, we had the gratification to announce the adoption of sundry resolutions in aid of the design of our Institution, by the Winder Lodge, Baltimore, No. 17, and to publish the letter of a committee of that Association, enclosing a donation of twen-

ty dollars. By one of the resolutions to which we allude a committee was appointed to open a correspondence in reference to the Colonization Society, with other Lodges, "throughout the State of Maryland and elsewhere." We have evidence to believe that the efforts of this committee, will prove of inestimable advantage to our cause, and we trust that the charitable principles of Masonry, so happily exemplified by the Winder Lodge, will be illustrated by the Masonic Fraternity, generally, in the same manner. In a letter enclosing five dollars, from the Mount Pisgah Lodge, No. 202, Greencastle, Pennsylvania, a committee of that body state, "that the Lodge, though consisting of few members and weak in funds has thought proper to make this donation, to assist according to its means, a Society engaged in a great work of benevolence, in the accomplishment of which, both as Masons and as men, the members think themselves deeply interested." They add, "that the aid which might be derived by the American Colonization Society from similar donations from other Lodges would prove all-powerful, and that to afford it, would be consistent with those great principles which have ever been inculcated within the walls of a Lodge."

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### Society of Friends in North Carolina.

It will be seen, by the address of the yearly meeting of this Society, which we now publish, with what energy and perseverance, this benevolent class of Christians, are exerting themselves for the benefit of such people of colour as are providentially subjected to their care. We trust that the members of other denominations will not regardlessly behold so bright an example, but that they will adopt those principles and imbibe that spirit which have been shown so illustriously beneficial to the cause of humanity in the proceedings of this unostentatious Society.

*Address from the Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina, held in the 11th month, 1826, to the Quarterly, Monthly, and Preparative Meetings, which constitute it; on the subject of removing the people of colour under Friends' care to free governments.*

It appears from the proceedings of our meeting for sufferings, as presented to this Meeting, that there have been conveyed to free governments since last year, about 300 of the people of colour under the care of this Yearly



Meeting; having been left to their choice of places. Upwards of 40 have been taken to Liberia; 119 to Hayti; 11 to Philadelphia; and the remainder to Ohio and Indiana; the expenses of which have been about 3,500 dollars. —About 600 are still remaining. It also appears that the following donations have been made us, to aid in this benevolent work: viz: 2,914 dollars 16 cents from an individual of the city of Philadelphia; 250 dollars from the Yearly Meeting of New-York; 1,000 dollars from the Yearly Meeting of Rhode-Island; 500 dollars from the meeting for sufferings of Philadelphia; and 100 dollars from an individual of Burlington, New-Jersey. It further appears from the reports of the agents, that about 500 of the remaining people of colour are willing to emigrate to free governments;—upwards of three hundred to Liberia; and the other 200 or thereabouts, to other places: All that is wanting are sufficient funds and opportunity. A donation of 500 dollars has been made by our meeting for sufferings, to the Colonization Society, to assist them in chartering a vessel the present fall, and 300 more pledged, in case their funds should not be adequate. Although it appears from the above statement, that a part of our stock has not yet been expended, yet, it will fall far short of completing the operations in view, in regard to this momentous work. We have therefore, cordially united in this Meeting, to endeavor to raise the sum of two thousand dollars; and although this is double what we directed last year, yet we think the importance of the subject, and the danger of delay, require it. It was referred to the representatives to be apportioned among the quarterly meetings, to be raised, and handed into the hands of the Treasurer.

And now, dear friends, notwithstanding all the varied difficulties attending this subject, it appears to us that the blessing of Divine Providence has attended our exertions, in a peculiar manner. Our motive in giving you this information and address, is from a hope that it will excite, in all the members of this Yearly Meeting, a concern harmoniously to co-operate with the meeting for sufferings, and the Agents, in their prompt and indefatigable exertions, in acting in behalf of the Society, for these degraded people. Do we not feel ourselves under the strongest obligations of acknowledgment to our distant brethren, for their generous aid? which ought to stimulate us the more cheerfully to contribute to this good work. If the Father of Mercies should continue to smile on our operations, we shall, in a year or two more, in all probability, be released from the heavier part of this burden; and feel the inexpressible consolation of having plucked from the jaws of slavery, a thousand of our fellow beings, and placed them in free governments, where they may enjoy the privileges of citizens; and the additional satisfaction of having been instrumental in performing a work which will doubtless have a very striking influence on the community at large, and assist in paving the way for the mitigation or removal of one of the greatest evils that ever afflicted the human race.

Signed on behalf of the aforesaid meeting,

JEREMIAH HUBBARD, *Clerk.*

## Intelligence.

**SLAVE TRADE.**—No. 68 of the London Quarterly Review states, on official authority, some deplorable facts relating to the slave trade. Every day brings fresh proof that nothing but the civilization of the natives of Africa, by the establishment of Christian colonies on the coast, will ever put an end to the horrors of this traffic.

The American vessels engaged in this trade, are generally under the Dutch flag. One vessel under that flag was lately siezed, but the crew, consisting entirely of Americans, escaped unpunished.

The trade under the French flag is as vigorously pursued as ever, and the French government makes no exertion to check it. In the first month of 1825, 5766 negroes were landed within twenty leagues of Havana, many of them from French vessels; and nineteen vessels left that port for the coast of Africa. The Abolition Society of Paris state, on the authority of official documents, that slave captains throw into the sea every year, about *three thousand* negroes, more than half of them alive, either to escape from cruisers, or because the negroes, exhausted by sufferings, could not be sold to advantage.

"The Portuguese and Brazilians, so far from having the least respect for public opinion, consider the slave trade as an honorable and legitimate branch of commerce; and so little horror is felt among them at the enormities which are constantly occurring; that nothing is more common than for *ladies* to take share in an *ebony* adventure. In the case of one recent capture alone, there were *four* female consignees. The vessels with the Emperor Don Pedro's license, are universally in the most horrid condition:—the mortality and suffering on board of them almost too dreadful for description. It is stated that in some of those vessels were fierce dogs of the blood hound species, trained to sit watching over the hatches during the night, lest the wretched beings below, driven to desperation, should make any attempt to reach the region of purer air."—*Vermont Chronicle*.

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A letter from Captain Clapperton, dated Hio, 22d of February, to a friend in Dumfriesshire, (and published in the *Dumfries Courier*,) states that he had been well treated in the capital of Youriba, during the two months he had been there; that the Niger was only two days distance, and certainly flowed into the Bight of Benin; that he was about to start for Youri, near which Mungo Park was killed; and that his travels hitherto had been over new and unknown regions of considerable interest.

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## AFRICAN FEMALE TRACT ASSOCIATION OF THE CITY OF N. YORK.

We learn with pleasure, that an association under the above title, auxiliary to the American Tract Society, was formed in this city on the 20th inst. with a fair prospect of extensive usefulness. The Board by which it is to be conducted, with the exception of the Directress, consists wholly of coloured fe-

males. A subscription of 25 or 50 cents annually, constitutes membership. The treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Brown, will receive subscriptions, and deliver to any member, the Tracts to which she may be entitled, at No. 12, Barclay street.

It is a characteristic of Religious Tracts, as of the Bible, that, while the Christian who has made most advances in knowledge and piety, may derive benefit from their perusal, they are also adapted to the capacity of the most humble. The benevolent ladies who have commenced this somewhat novel enterprize, will receive, we trust, the thanks of the religious community, as they certainly will the approbation of Heaven.—*N. York Observer.*

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#### RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF SLAVES.

The last Synod of Kentucky passed a resolution recommending to its members the religious instruction of slaves within the bounds of their respective congregations. On the 16th ult. the present Synod inquired of each minister what attention he had paid to the recommendation; and the answers were generally satisfactory. Fifteen schools for people of colour are now in operation within the limits of the Synod; and much is doing for the same object, in a less public and formal manner.—*Ibid.*

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#### THE SLAVES EMANCIPATED IN MEXICO.

A writer in the National Intelligencer suggests that the slaves of American settlers in Mexico, recently emancipated by that government, were probably imported from Africa and Cuba, instead of the United States; and the Editors, in commenting on the article, express an opinion, we believe a correct one, that in any event the owners will lose their slaves, insomuch as the law of the United States prohibits the introduction of such persons from abroad.—*Ibid.*

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#### GREAT BATTLE IN AFRICA.

On the 7th of August, the Ashantees, amounting to 25,000, had advanced to Doodewan, and were met by 11,000 men, the whole of the British, Dutch, and other Troops. The battle lasted an hour, when the Ashantees fled, leaving on the field in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 5000 men. The loss of the English, &c. 800 killed, and 2000 wounded. The Ashantees left the King's camp and equipage on the field, in which was found the head of Sir Charles M'Carthy.—*Ibid.*

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### Auxiliary Societies.

Within two months past, about 20 Associations, (we believe more than this number,) have been constituted to co-operate in the great purposes of our Institution. Among these the *Colonization Society of the State of Pennsylvania* holds a distinguished place. Its first donation of six hundred dollars has been already received. The place of its location, (Philadelphia,) the character of its members, and the zeal and success with which it has commenced operation, afford promise of very important benefits to the cause in which we are engaged.

The citizens of the western part of Pennsylvania, of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, begin to look with deep interest upon our enterprise, and seem very generally disposed to give it countenance and support. Multitudes, we know, regard it as a work demanding for its execution the national exertion, and truly worthy of the national patronage.


It is painful to add, that notwithstanding the liberality of several Societies and many individuals, yet, in consequence of some unexpected demands for the Colony, the funds of the Society do not justify the outfit, immediately, of an expedition. We still hope for the means to effect this, in the course of the winter. The hazard of failure in a matter so important, must, we think, itself prove a powerful appeal to every Christian heart.

## Resolutions.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society at Washington, December 14th, 1826, it was

*Resolved*, That the annual Meeting of this Society shall be held in this city, on the second Saturday in January, at eleven o'clock; and that this be announced in the public papers.

*Resolved*, That the Auxiliary Societies be requested to send delegates to the annual Meeting, and that the friends to our cause generally, be invited to attend.

 The place of meeting to be announced hereafter.

November 1st, 1826.

DEAR SIR,

In your next Repository, be pleased to say that the deposit in Aug. last, of 52 dollars and 25 cents by Wells and Redfield, was to be credited to the following accounts, viz :

Collected in the Reformed Dutch church in Tany Town under the care of the Rev. Thomas G. Smith,	\$8 00
Do. in the Reformed Protestant Dutch church, Market street, New-York, under the pastoral care of Dr. Wm. M'Murray,	44 25
	<hr/> \$52 25


In the report of September 20th, the \$75 44 collected in Albany, N. Y. should have been put to the credit of Presbyterian and Dutch churches in that place.

I am, very respectfully your ob't servant,

RICHARD SMITH,

Treasurer of the American Colonization Society

R. R. GURLEY.

 List of Donations will appear in our next number

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

DECEMBER, 1826.

[NO. X.

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**Memorial of the Free People of Colour.**

THE alleged indisposition of the free people of colour to emigrate, constituted one of the earliest and most prominent objections to the plan of African Colonization. Even supposing the indisposition to have prevailed generally, at the time of our Society's origin, the objection appears to us baseless when tried by the acknowledged principles of human nature, (because from these it must be concluded temporary,) and we have been therefore surprised, to find it considered as valid by some intelligent and reflecting minds. Had there been wanting a few hardy and daring adventurers to make trial of the scheme, even at the hazard of property and life, the fact would have been a remarkable anomaly in the history of our species.

Men ever desire to improve their condition; and since that of our coloured population is miserable, the success of the bold spirits who first landed in Africa, could not fail to act upon their brethren as an irresistible persuasive to emigration. We might as well suppose men to act without any motive as to fail to act in view of an adequate one. Now the probability (we had almost said the possibility) of acquiring true Liberty, with its countless and invaluable blessings, all history assures us, has ever (except where the

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very conception of Liberty has been lost in the long darkness of despotism) proved a sufficient motive for the most difficult enterprises and the highest achievements. Impelled by this passion for Freedom, men have courted peril as the lover his mistress; and those bred in the polished cities and courts of Europe sought a home in the wilderness of the west. It would be strange indeed, should those, who know as little of Liberia as they do of Jupiter or its inhabitants, be anxious to remove thither, and equally strange, should a knowledge of the condition and promise of the African Colony fail to excite a desire among the free people of colour, to secure its benefits to themselves and their posterity.

To the hope and belief that we should contribute, essentially, to the improvement and happiness of the free people of colour, by establishing them in a community on the African coast, does the Colonization Society in a great degree owe its existence, and as the experiment of this Institution has proved beyond question, that this hope and belief were well founded, as good common sense is the only faculty requisite to apprehend the grounds upon which they now rest; it appears morally certain that every unprejudiced man of colour, possessed of this faculty, and acquainted with the facts which constitute these grounds, will be disposed to become a member of the Colony of Liberia. Nor is this mere hypothetical reasoning. It is truth, as seen in the daily effects produced by correct information concerning the Colonization Society, and the state of the Liberian Colony, on the minds of the free coloured population. We wish we could add, that a disposition to secure, by their own efforts, the means of transportation, were increasing equally with the desire of removal. There are, we doubt not many, who do what they can, and who resolve to rely as little as possible upon charity, and such individuals, will, we trust, in case of necessity, never be left destitute of friendly aid.

Few, we think, can read without interest, the following memorial:

At a meeting of a respectable number of coloured persons convened at Bethel church, December 7th, 1826, for the purpose of considering the propriety of promoting an emigration to the African Colony at Liberia, the Rev. William Cornish was called to the Chair, and Robert Cowley appointed Secretary. The meeting being organized, after due deliberation the following resolution and memorial were read and adopted.

The proceedings were then ordered to be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published.

December 11th, 1826.

At a very numerous meeting of respectable free people of colour, held at the African church, Sharp street, on Monday, 11th December, 1826, on motion of the Rev. Lewis G. Wells, Mr. James Deaver was called to the chair, and Remus Harvey appointed Secretary.

A memorial to the white people of Baltimore was then presented to the meeting, being the same adopted at the Bethel church on the 7th inst. and after the same had been read and discussed, it was adopted, and ordered to be part of the proceedings of the meeting, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and published.

*A Memorial from the Free People of Colour to the Citizens of Baltimore.*

We have hitherto beheld, in silence, but with the intensest interest, the efforts of the wise and philanthropic in our behalf. If it became us to be silent, it became us also to feel the liveliest anxiety and gratitude. The time has now arrived, as we believe, in which your work and our happiness may be promoted by the expression of our opinions. We have therefore assembled for that purpose, from every quarter of the City and every denomination, to offer you this respectful address, with all the weight and influence which our number, character and cause can lend it.

We reside among you, and yet are strangers; natives, and yet not citizens; surrounded by the freest people and most republican institutions in the world, and yet enjoying none of the immunities of freedom. This singularity in our condition has not failed to strike us as well as you: but we know it is irremediable here. Our difference of colour, the servitude of many and most of our brethren, and the prejudices which those circumstances have naturally occasioned, will not allow us to hope, even if we could desire, to mingle with you one day, in the benefits of citizenship. As long as we remain among you, we must (and shall) be content to be a distinct caste, exposed to the indignities and dangers, physical and moral, to which our situation makes us liable. All that we may expect, is to merit by our peaceable and orderly behaviour, your consideration and the protection of your laws.

It is not to be imputed to you that we are here. Your ancestors remonstrated against the introduction of the first of our race, who were brought amongst you; and it was the mother country that insisted on their admission, that her colonies and she might profit, as she thought, by their compulsory labour. But the gift was a curse to them, without being an advantage to herself. The colonies, grown to womanhood, burst from her dominion; and if they have an angry recollection of their union and rupture, it must be at the sight of the baneful institution which she has entailed upon them.

How much you regret its existence among you, is shewn by the severe laws you have enacted against the slave-trade, and by your employment of a naval force for its suppression. You have gone still further. Not content with checking the increase of the already too growing evil, you have delibe-

rated how you might best exterminate the evil itself. This delicate and important subject has produced a great variety of opinions: but we find, even in that diversity, a consolatory proof of the interest with which you regard the subject, and of your readiness to adopt that scheme which may appear to be the best.

Leaving out all considerations of generosity, humanity and benevolence, you have the strongest reasons to favour and facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove. It ill consists, in the first place, with your republican principles and with the health and moral sense of the body politic, that there should be in the midst of you an extraneous mass of men, united to you only by soil and climate, and irrevocably excluded from your institutions. Nor is it less for your advantage in another point of view. Our places might, in your opinion, be better occupied by men of your own colour, who would increase the strength of your country. In the pursuit of livelihood and the exercise of industrious habits, we necessarily exclude from employment many of the whites—your fellow-citizens, who would find it easier in proportion as we depart, to provide for themselves and their families.

But if *you* have every reason to wish for our removal, how much greater are *our* inducements to remove! Though we are not slaves, we are not free. We do not, and never shall participate in the enviable privileges which we continually witness. Beyond a mere subsistence, and the impulse of religion, there is nothing to arouse us to the exercise of our faculties, or excite us to the attainment of eminence. Though under the shield of your laws we are partially protected, not totally oppressed; nevertheless, our situation will and must inevitably have the effect of crushing, not developing the capacities that God has given us. We are, besides, of opinion, that our absence will accelerate the liberation of such of our brethren as are in bondage, by the permission of Providence. When such of us as wish, and may be able, shall have gone before to open and lead the way, a channel will be left, through which may be poured such as hereafter receive their freedom from the kindness or interests of their masters, or by public opinion and legislative enactment, and who are willing to join those who have preceded them. As a white population comes in to fill our void, the situation of our brethren will be nearer to liberty; for their value must decrease and disappear before the superior advantages of free labour, with which their's can hold no competition.

Of the many schemes that have been proposed, we most approve of that of *African Colonization*. If we were able and at liberty to go whithersoever we would, the greater number, willing to leave this community, would prefer **LIBERIA**, on the coast of Africa. Others, no doubt, would turn them towards some other region: the world is wide. Already, established there in the settlement of the American Colonization Society, are many of our brethren, the pioneers of African Restoration, who encourage us to join them. Several were formerly residents of this City, and highly considered by the people of their own class and colour. They have been planted at cape Montserado, the most eligible and one of the most elevated sites on the western coast



of Africa, selected in 1821; and their number has augmented to five hundred. Able, as we are informed, to provide for their own defence and support, and capable of self increase, they are now enjoying all the necessities and comforts and many of the luxuries of larger and older communities. In Africa we shall be freemen indeed, and republicans after the model of this republic. We shall carry your language, your customs, your opinions and christianity to that now desolate shore, and thence they will gradually spread, with our growth, far into the continent. The slave-trade, both external and internal, can be abolished only by settlements on the coast. Africa, if destined to be ever civilized and converted, can be civilized and converted by that means only.

We foresee that difficulties and dangers await those who emigrate, such as every infant establishment must encounter and endure; such as your fathers suffered when first they landed on this now happy shore. They will have to contend, we know, with the want of many things which they enjoyed here; and they leave a populous and polished society for a land where they must long continue to experience the solitude and ruggedness of an early settlement. But "Ethiopia shall lift her hands unto God." Africa is the only country to which they can go and enjoy those privileges for which they leave their firesides among you. The work has begun, and it is continuing. A foothold has been obtained, and the principal obstacles are overcome. The foundations of a nation have been laid, of which they are to be the fathers.

The portion of comforts which they may lose, they will cheerfully abandon. Human happiness does not consist in meat and drink, nor in costly raiment, nor in stately habitations: to contribute to it even, they must be joined with equal rights and respectability; and it often exists in a high degree without them. If the sufferings and privations to which the emigrants would be exposed were even greater than we imagine, still they would not hesitate to sacrifice their own personal and temporary ease, for the permanent advantage of their race, and the future prosperity and dignified existence of their children.

That you may facilitate the withdrawal from among you of such as wish to remove, is what we now solicit. It can best be done, we think, by augmenting the means at the command of the American Colonization Society, that the Colony of Liberia may be strengthened and improved for their gradual reception. The greater the number of persons sent thither, from any part of this nation whatsoever, so much the more capable it becomes of receiving a still greater. Every encouragement to it therefore, though it may not seem to have any particular portion of emigrants directly in view, will produce a favourable effect upon all. The emigrants may readily be enabled to remove, in considerable numbers every fall, by a concerted system of individual contributions, and still more efficiently by the enactment of laws to promote their emigration, under the patronage of the State. The expense would not be nearly so great as it might appear at first sight; for when once the current shall have set towards Liberia, and intercourse grown frequent, the cost will of course

diminish rapidly, and many will be able to defray it for themselves. Thousands and tens of thousands poorer than we, annually emigrate from Europe to your country, and soon have it in their power to hasten the arrival of those they left behind—Every intelligent and industrious coloured man would continually look forward to the day, when he or his children might go to their veritable home, and would accumulate all his little earnings for that purpose.

We have ventured these remarks, because we know that you take a kind concern in the subject to which they relate, and because we think they may assist you in the prosecution of your designs. If we were doubtful of your good will and benevolent intentions, we would remind you of the time when you were in a situation similar to ours, and when your forefathers were driven, by religious persecution, to a distant and inhospitable shore. We are not so persecuted, but we, too, leave our homes, and seek a distant and inhospitable shore: an empire may be the result of our emigration, as of their's. The protection, kindness and assistance which you would have desired for yourselves under such circumstances, now extend to us: so may you be rewarded by the riddance of the stain and evil of slavery, the extension of civilization and the Gospel, and the blessing of our common Creator!

WILLIAM CORNISH,

Chairman of the meeting in Bethel Church.

ROBERT COWLEY,

Secretary of the meeting in Bethel Church.

JAMES DEEVER,

Chairman of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street.

REMUS HARVEY,

Secretary of the meeting in the African Church, Sharp street,

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## Review of Denham and Clapperton's expedition to Central Africa.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 283.)

On the 29th of November, 1822, they once more resumed their journey, from Mourzuk, for the south. Their immediate party consisted of 13: Clapperton, Denham, Hillman, Oudney; a servant who spoke several languages, and from having travelled over half the world, had acquired the name of Columbus; Jacob, a Gibraltar Jew, a sort of store-keeper; three free negroes, hired in Tripoli as private servants; and four men to look after the camels. They were also accompanied by several merchants, from different places, who embraced the protection of the escort, to proceed with their merchandise into the interior. The escort was compos-

ed of about two hundred Arabs, of various tribes, under the command of Boo-Khaloom. "These Arabs had been chosen," says Major Denham, "from the most obedient tribes. They gained considerably on our good opinion, each day we became better acquainted with them. They were not only a great and most necessary protection, but enlivened us very much on our dreary desert way by their wit and sagacity, as well as by their extempore and traditional poetry. We had amongst our party several who shone, to use the idiom of their own expressive language, as *orators in verse*; particularly one, who would sing for an hour together, faithfully describing the whole of our journey for the preceding fortnight, even to the name of the well, the colour and taste of the water, with astonishing rapidity and humour, and in tolerably good poetry. Some of his traditionary ballads were beautiful." Boo-Khaloom, their leader, was a merchant of Mourzuk of great wealth and influence, and had been appointed by the Bashaw to convey our travellers to Bornou. He is, in some sort, the hero of the journey. His barbaric splendour and parade, his liberality and benevolence, his natural sagacity and shrewdness, but ignorance of the sciences and arts of civilized life, conspire to render him highly interesting. On entering towns, (which he always did with great ceremony, as the representative of the Bashaw,) he rode "on a beautiful Tunisian horse, the peak and rear of the saddle covered with gold, with housings of scarlet cloth with a border of gold six inches broad. His dress consisted of red boots, richly embroidered with gold, yellow silk trowsers, a crimson velvet caftan with gold buttons, a silk benise of sky blue, and a silk sidria underneath. A transparent white silk barracan was thrown lightly over this; and on his shoulders hung a scarlet bornouse, a present from the Bashaw, which had cost at least \$400. A cashmere shawl turban crowned the whole." We shall have occasion to notice, in the course of our remarks, several traits of his noble character, and to record his death in the southern limits of Central Africa.

After a tedious journey across the desert, they arrived, on the 4th of February, 1823, at Lari; and from the eminence on which it stands, they beheld, for the first time, the great Ontario of Africa, the lake Tchad, of which rumour had vaguely spoken, "glowing in the golden rays of the sun." "My heart," says Major

Denham, "bounded within me at this prospect, for I believed this lake to be the key to the great object of our search."

The inhabitants of the town, who had been plundered by the Arabs only a year before, and four hundred of their people butchered, terrified at the approach of the caravan, fled across the plain in all directions; and it was long before Boo-Khaloom could restore confidence.

It may, perhaps, be proper here to give some account of the Arab tribes, that roam throughout the desert, enemies to each other, like birds of prey, and the dread of neighbouring and stationary nations. "Arabs are generally thin meagre figures, though possessing expressive and sometimes handsome features, and great violence of gesture and muscular motion. Irritable and fiery, they are unlike the dwellers in towns and cities: noisy and loud, their common conversational intercourse appears to be a continual strife and quarrel. They are brave, eloquent, and deeply sensible of shame." In cleanliness they exceed the lower classes of Europe. Their mode of dress, which consists of fine loose and light stuffs, has undergone no change for centuries. "An Arab's fondness for traditional history of the distinguished actions of his remotest ancestors, is proverbial. Professed story-tellers are even appendages to a man of rank: his friends will assemble before his tent, or on the platforms with which the houses of the Moorish Arabs are roofed, and there listen, night after night, to a continued history for sixty, or sometimes for a hundred nights, together. It is a great exercise of genius, and a peculiar gift, held in high estimation among them. They have a quickness and clearness of delivery, and command of words, surprising to a European. They never hesitate, are never at a loss: their descriptions are highly poetical, and the relations exemplified by figure and metaphor, the most striking and appropriate. Their extemporaneous songs also are full of fire, and beautiful and happy similies." It is a talent which is cultivated very carefully, is possessed by certain tribes in a peculiar degree, and often found in perfection in persons who can neither read nor write. Their songs go to the heart, and are devoted principally to love, to which pastoral life seems to be particularly favourable. Hospitality is a habit with them. Nor are it and its sister virtue, liberality, found only in the tent of the chief: "I have known the poor and wandering

Bedouin to practise a degree of charity and hospitality far beyond his means, from a sense of duty alone." Cowardice always meets with disgraceful punishment. But in the bosom of the Arab there is no love of home; he has no local attachments; home is for him wherever he finds the pasture, in search of which he wanders from district to district. "His sole delight is in a roving, irregular, and martial life." Faithful in their attachments, true to their word, kind and respectful to their kindred, they have also the vices that depend upon the same high principles and feelings, and in savage man counterbalance and accompany such virtues: they are cruel and addicted to war, remorseless robbers, and unforgiving in their resentment of an injury.

The various tribes are almost always at war, one or another, with each other; reciprocally annoying each other by predatory incursions, and taking camels, slaves, &c. killing only when resistance is made, and never making prisoners. The two most powerful through whose country our travellers passed, were the Tuaricks in the north, and the Tibboos in the south. The former are the much superior race, and seem to be the terror of the Desert, which both, with many other tribes on the frontiers of Barbary, inhabit.

The Desert is a tract more desolate, than "the wildest wastes of European land." Between Central and Northern Africa, and interspersed throughout them from the Atlantic to the Nile, spread those plains of sand. They are not so much one desert as a cluster of deserts, extending their branches in various directions across the interior of the continent, and leaving spots of fertile territory here and there, encompassed by the wilderness. "Masses of conglomerated sand obstruct the path that leads to these *oases* or *wadeys*," (as these fertile spots are called;) "nothing relieves the eye, as it stretches over the wide expanse, except where the desert scene is broken by a chain of bleak and barren mountains; no cooling breezes freshen the air; the sun descends in overpowering force; the winds scorch as they pass, and bring with them billows of sand, rolling along in masses frightfully suffocating, which sometimes swallow up whole caravans and armies, burying them in their pathless depths!"\*

'Their hapless fate unknown!'

\* Vid. Journal from Tripoli to Mourzuk, p. 39. The volume before us is composed of various journals. The first, from Tripoli to Mourzuk, is from

If a spring ooze to the surface and nourish a few trees and a scanty vegetation, it seems, by contrast with the surrounding waste, to be an Island of the Blessed, and the retreat of perfect happiness. The Arabians have celebrated these *oases* in their gorgeous tales; and, to the weary caravan that pauses to rest after its journey through the burning desert, they must indeed appear all that they are pictured. Some of them are uninhabited, and are so secluded that they are never visited but by caravans astray or tribes of wandering Arabs in search of plunder, and serve only as places of repose and watering for travellers. Others there are, no doubt, like islands in the ocean, yet to be discovered. The inhabitants of many that are peopled, uninterested in the rest of mankind, and scarcely conscious of their existence, feed their flocks and till their lands in national solitude. A few retain the marks of having been anciently adorned with magnificent structures. In one of them are still to be seen the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, which was visited by the vain-glorious Alexander, when he would affect the God.

The *wadeys* or vallies, are generally united to one another by narrow passes or defiles; and are often as barren as the level parts of the desert; but commonly contain some springs of sweet or brackish water. A few extracts will best convey an idea of the soil and country. "About mid-day, we entered the boundaries of the Tuarick country. It is by a small narrow pass over alum slate hills into a sterile sandy valley. At a distance the Tuarick hills, running north and south, not table-top'd like those we have left, but rising in numerous peaks and cones. There are here in the vicinity a number of sand hills; and all the valleys are bounded by low alum slate hills; and recently formed fixed sand hills. The name of the wadey is Sardalis. On a small eminence, is an old and ruinous Arabian building, from the middle of which a large spring issues, and pours out water sufficient to irrigate a large space of ground. It opens into a large basin; the temperature of the water is consequently influenced by the sun's rays and the soil. Abundant crops of grain might be reared by an industrious

the pen of Major Denham; the second is by Dr. Oudney, describing an excursion from Mourzuk to Ghraat, in the west, the capital of the Tuaries; the third, from Mourzuk to Kouka in Bornon, by Denham; and the last, from Kouka to Sackatoo, by Capt. Clapperton.

people; but the Tuarics are no agriculturists, and the small cultivated spots are wrought by Fezzaneers. A few sheep were in the valley. The inhabitants are thinly scattered; and we could only observe here and there a few grass houses." "The west side of the wadey had the appearance of a rugged sea-coast, and the exposed ledges of rocks, that of the beach washed by the waves. The rock is a fine grained sand stone, lying on aluminous slate, which, mouldering into dust by exposure to the weather, undermines the sand stone, and gives rise to the rugged appearance. It is rendered more dreary and awful by the black colour of the external surface. We entered a narrow pass with lofty rugged hills on each side; some were peaked. It blew a strong gale as we passed through the different windings; sand was tossed in every direction; the sky was sometimes obscured for several minutes."—(*Oudney*, 59.)

With these picturesque hills and rocks, which resemble "ruinous cathedrals and castles," the ignorant and superstitious natives associate something supernatural. "Every hill and cave has something fabulous connected with it." In this there is "a serpent as large as a camel," another is the "Devil's house." "Hateeta, (a Tuaric chief,) dreads this hill, and has told us many strange stories of wonderful sights having been seen; these he firmly believes; and is struck with horror when we tell him that we will visit it." (*Ibid.*)

"We travelled by moonlight over a sandy soil, with numerous tufts of grass and mound hillocks, covered with shrubs, the surface in many places hard and crusty, from saline incrustation."—"A little after sunrise entered among the sand hills. Beyond this boundary of sand hills of the Wadey Ghrurbi, there is an extensive sandy plain, with here and there tufts of grass." "In the afternoon our track was on the plain. The mind is forcibly struck with the presence of nothing but deep sandy valleys and high sand hills. There is something of the sublime mixed with the melancholy. Who can contemplate without admiration masses of loose sand, fully four hundred feet high, ready to be tossed about by every breeze, and not shudder with horror at the idea of the unfortunate traveller being entombed in a moment by one of those fatal blasts, which sometimes occur. On the top of one of these hills we halted for the night. It was near full moon. Her silvery rays, con-

trasted with the golden hue of the sand, and the general stillness, gave rise to a diversity of reflections.”—(*Ibid.*)

The desert is continually encroaching on the surrounding regions: every tornado rolls the sand in waves before it, and thus enlarges the barren precinct. So sudden and powerful are these causes and effects, that armies have been known to be submerged and perish. Caravans frequently meet with such disasters. This destructive progress of the desert seems to have been steady, and is fearfully apparent. Regions formerly celebrated for their fertility and culture, are now buried in the sand. The prevalence of easterly winds has been driving it for centuries upon Egypt, covering up the monuments of ancient grandeur and counteracting the irrigations of the Nile. Ruins of stately temples; roofs of cities, formerly surrounded by a rich and populous territory, now merely peep above the surface of the ground; and the pyramids stand like a break-water, in the midst, unshaken but almost overflowed.

Caravans must sometimes travel for four or five days, without coming to any water. Against this danger they provide, by loading their camels with it, at the various wells by which they pass. These wells are often brackish, and generally very low. Sometimes they have the appearance of stagnation; and at others, you must dig several feet in the dry sand, before you reach water.—Yet, in the desert, to the parched palate, the worst is delicious.—It never or rarely rains in any part of the desert; in some, never. To these refreshing spots the weary traveller looks forward with delight: but he too often reaches them only to expire with fatigue, or from an imprudent use of the water. “The depth of the well at Meshroo is from 16 to 20 feet: the water good, and free from saline impregnations: the ground around is strewed with human skeletons, the slaves who have arrived exhausted with thirst and fatigue. Every few miles a skeleton was seen through the whole day; some were partially covered with sand, others with only a small mound, formed by the wind. One hand often lay under the head, and frequently both, as if in the act of compressing the head. The skin and membranous substance all shrivel up and dry, from the state of the air; the thick muscular and internal parts only decay.”—(*Denham, 6, note.*)

“The surface was sandy, till we approached the hills, then it



changed to stony. The black hills with cones, peaks and a columnar-looking cap, reminded us of what we had seen before. The gloom of those places in the dusk has something grand and awful. We winded up, with the light of a moon not a quarter old, and that lessened by a cloudy sky. We passed many skeletons, both of human beings and camels, which always kept us in mind of the dangers we were exposed to; some sandy and pebbly beds, as of a stream, and in one place high clayey banks, with iron ore underneath. Skeletons lay about mangled in a shocking manner; here an arm, there an arm, fixed with their ligaments, at considerable distances from the trunk. What could have done this? Man forced by hunger, or the camels? The latter are very fond of chewing dried bones, but whether they ever do so to those with dried flesh on them, I cannot say.”—(*Ibid*, Dr. Oudney's note, 8.)

The desert contains numerous salt lakes, from which that article is extracted in lumps by the Tibboos and Tuaricks, and carried into the interior, where it is very scarce, and sells at an enormous price. When the natives of the interior, as Park informs us, wish to express great wealth in a man, they say that he eats salt with his bread. “Almost all the salt formations are in low, protected situations; the water is near; and often in the very centre, you have fine fresh springs. There is no reason to believe there are large subterranean salt beds; if these existed to any great extent, we should not have the fresh springs so prevalent.” “We passed a large tract of black surface, as if the situation of an extensive salt bed, from which the salt had only been removed a few years; it extends four or five miles to the eastward, and was more than a mile across, on our road.” Where salt is not found naturally, it is obtained by artificial means. “We saw a number of mud elevations, which appear as if produced by mud volcanoes; but these are artificial, and made for the preparation of salt. I had long wished to see the extensive salt plain that afforded such copious supplies: originally, no doubt, the large spaces I have several times noticed, afforded abundance, but the reproduction could not keep up with the quantity taken away. Shallow pits were dug, which soon filled with water, and its evaporation left thick layers of salt.” “It is highly probable all this vast country was once a salt ocean: its height is nothing, considering its distance inland. As far as I can learn, no salt formations exist within the

boundaries of the rains. When the water issues from the soil, it is not brackish; but if it remains some time stagnant, it gets impregnated with saline matter.”—(*Ibid*, 19.)

A few miles north of Bilma, the capital of the Tibboos, which our travellers reached on the 12th of January, 1823, are several lakes, in which are great quantities of very pure crystalized salt. “On visiting the two most productive lakes, which lay between low sand hills, I found that the transparent kind they put into bags, and send to Bornou and Soudan; a coarser sort is also procured in hard pillars, and for which a ready market is found. In Soudan, a single pillar weighing eleven pounds, brings four or five dollars. The Tuarics supply themselves with salt entirely from the wadeys of the Tibboos. Twenty thousand bags of salt were said to have been carried off during the last year by the Tuarics alone. The Tibboos must be another people, before they can keep the Tuarics from plundering their country: a people who neither plant nor sow: whose education consists in managing a maherhy, (a swift sort of camel,) and the use of the spear; and who live by plundering the people around them, as well as those whom necessity or chance may lead to pass through their own country.”—(*Denham*, 22.)

“When the rains fall, which they do here in torrents in the season, a sort of grass quickly springs up, many feet high. In passing the desert, a few remaining roots of this dried grass, which had been blown by the winds, from Bodemam, were eagerly seized on by the Arabs, with cries of joy, for their hungry camels.”—(*Ibid*, 11.)

“After a narrow stony pass, we came to a halt in a wadey called Izhya. Here we had a gale of wind from the northeast for three days. Our tents were nearly buried in the sand, and we were obliged to roll ourselves up in blankets, nearly the whole time. We were encamped nearly west of the wells, about one hundred yards between them and a raas, or head of land, which had been in sight for some time. This head is a land-mark to kafilas, or caravans, coming in all directions, who wish to make the wadey. We passed Ametradumma about four hours; from which, to the north west, is a wadey of date trees, called Seggedem, with sweet water: here is generally a tribe of plundering Tibboos, who are always on the look out for small kafilas.”—

(*Ibid*, 12.) "It is from these wanderers that small kafilas, or single merchants, have to dread attack. Generally speaking, the regular Sheikhs (chiefs of towns or tribes) are satisfied with levying a tax, while these are contented with nothing short of the whole."  
(*Ibid*, 15.)

"Our road lay over loose hills of fine sand, in which the camels sunk nearly knee deep. In passing these desert wilds, in which hills disappear in a single night by the drifting of the sand, and where all traces of the passage of even a large caravan, sometimes vanish in a few hours, the Tibboos have certain points in the dark sand-stone ridges, which from time to time raise their heads in the midst of this dry ocean of sand, and form the only variety, and by them they steer their course. From one of these land-marks we waded through sand formed into hills from 20 to 60 feet in height, with nearly perpendicular sides, the camels blundering and falling with their heavy loads. The greatest care is taken by the drivers in descending these banks; the Arabs hang with all their weight on the animal's tail, by which means they steady him in his descent. Without this precaution the camel generally falls forward, and, of course, all he carries goes over his head."—(*Ibid*, 25.)

Such are the perils and appearance of the desert, the character of its inhabitants, its productions, and the wanderers that traverse it. The solitude must be alleviated, and dangers diminished, by being in a large company; but sometimes these dreary and trackless wastes are crossed by single travellers. On the 25th of January, 12 days' journey south of Bilma, Denham and Clapperton met two couriers, mounted on maherhies, only nine days from Kouka. They were on their way to Mourzuk, with despatches from the Sheikh of Kouka. "The Tibboos are the only people who will undertake this most arduous service; and the chances are so much against both returning in safety, that one is never sent alone. The two men we had encountered were mounted on two superb maherhies, and proceeding at the rate of about six miles an hour. A bag of parched corn, and one or two skins for water, with a small brass basin, and a wooden bowl, out of which they ate and drank, were all their comforts. A little meat, cut in strips and dried in the sun, is sometimes added, which they eat raw; for they rarely light a fire, and the want of it during the nights, on

approaching Fezzan, where the cold winds are sometimes biting after the day's heat, is often fatal to such travellers. A bag is suspended under the tail of the maherhy, by which means the dung is preserved, and serves as fuel on halting in the night.— Without a *kafila*, and a sufficient number of camels to carry such indispensables as wood and water, it is indeed a perilous journey.” (*Ibid*, 27.)

None but those accustomed to such a life, could endure the journey; for, besides the privations of food and rest, and the heat of the climate, from which there is no shelter, the gait of the camel is described as being to those not used to it, like the jolting of an ox-cart, driven at full speed over the roughest road.

Though single travellers and weak *kafilas* are liable to be plundered and massacred in the desert, by the wandering parties of Arabs, or at their fixed settlements, yet, when strong and numerous, they sometimes inflict the same treatment on their natural enemies. The escort of our travellers were always on the look out for plunder, and it was difficult ever to restrain them. Several of their camels having died, Boo Khaloom sent out marauding parties to plunder others. “The former deeds of the Arabs are, however, still in the memory of the Tibboos, and they had increased the distance between their huts and the high road by a timely striking of their tents. But nine camels of the maherhy species were brought in, yet not without a skirmish; a fresh party was despatched, and did not return at night. We were all ordered to remain loaded, and no one was allowed to quit the circle in which the tents were pitched.” The next day, this party returned with thirteen camels. “One fellow had traced the marks of a flock of sheep to a small village of tents to the east of our course, and now gave notice of the discovery. The poor frightened shepherds had seen him, and moved off with their all. But they were pursued and plundered, notwithstanding our opposition and the disapprobation of Boo Khaloom.” Thus their rugged course of life, and the constant dangers to which they are exposed in these dreary solitudes, have estranged men from the feelings of our common nature, and steeled their bosoms against their fellow-creatures. Not content that the elements should war against them, they seek to increase each other's misery and sufferings, by mutual wrongs.

We left our travellers, on the 4th of February, 1823, at Lari, enjoying their first sight of the lake Tchad. The banks were covered with wild fowl, that had not learnt to dread the sportsman. The water is sweet and pleasant, and abounds in fish. The party continued their route for Kouka. "On quitting Lari, we immediately plunged into a thickly planted forest of accacias, with high underwood; and at the distance of only a few hundred yards from the town (which contains two thousand souls,) we came upon large heaps of elephants' dung, forming hillocks three or four feet high, and marks of their footsteps. The tracks of these animals increased as we proceeded. Part of the day our road lay along the banks of the Tchad, and the elephants' foot-marks, of an immense size, and only a few hours old, were in abundance. Whole trees were broken down, where they had fed. We also killed this day an enormous snake, measuring 18 feet in length. Scarcely a mile farther, a drove of wild cattle were seen bounding to the west." Some days afterwards they saw a drove of elephants, upwards of 150 in number, feeding on the shores; and beautiful birds, guinea-fowls, hyenas, wild hogs, antelopes and monkeys they frequently met with.

On the 13th of February, they arrived at a considerable river called the Yeou, "in some parts more than fifty yards wide, with a fine hard sandy bottom, and banks nearly perpendicular, and with a strong current running three miles and a half an hour to the eastward." On the south side of the river stands a town of the same name; to which they crossed, in canoes of the rudest construction, their camels and horses swimming over, with their heads made fast to the boats.

On the 17th, they entered Kouka, the residence of the sheikh of Bornou, one of the most powerful chiefs of Central Africa, whose name was El Kanemy. He was a soldier of fortune, and ruled the whole empire, under a nominal sovereign, the Sultan of Bornou, who holds at Birnie, the capital, his preposterous court, which we shall presently describe. When they were at a week's distance, El Kanemy had sent couriers, with presents, to welcome them; and for their arrival at his capital, he had reserved a display of all his splendour and power. "I had ridden on," says Major Denham, "in front of Boo Khaloom and his Arabs, and had lost sight of them, fancying that the road could not be mista-

ken. On approaching a part of the forest less thickly planted, I was not a little surprised to see in front of me a body of several thousand cavalry, drawn up in line, and extending right and left as far as I could see. They remained quite steady, without noise or confusion; and a few horsemen, who were moving about in front, giving directions, were the only persons out of the ranks. On the Arabs appearing in sight, a shout, or yell, was given by the sheikh's people, which rent the air: a blast was blown from their rude instruments of music equally loud, and they moved on to meet Boo-Khaloom and his Arabs. There was an appearance of tact and management in their movements which astonished me: three separate small bodies, from the centre and each flank, kept charging rapidly towards us, to within a few feet of our horses heads, without checking the speed of their own until the moment of their halt, while the whole body moved onwards. These parties were mounted on small but very perfect horses, who stopped and wheeled from their utmost speed with great precision and exactness, shaking their spears over their heads, exclaiming, '*Bar-ka! barka! alla hiakkum cha, alla cheraga!*'—'Blessing! blessing! sons of your country! sons of your country!' and returning quickly to the front of the body, in order to repeat the charge. While all this was going on, they closed in their right and left flanks, and surrounded the little body of Arab warriors so completely, as to give the compliment of welcoming them much the appearance of a declaration of contempt for their weakness. I am quite sure this was premeditated; we were all so closely pressed as to be nearly smothered, and in some danger from the crowding of the horses and clashing of the spears. Moving on was impossible; and we therefore came to a full stop: our chief was much enraged, but it was all to no purpose, he was only answered by shrieks of 'welcome!' This annoyance, however, was not of long duration: Barca Gana, the sheikh's first general, a negro of a noble aspect, clothed in a figured silk tobe, or shirt, and mounted on a beautiful Mandara horse, made his appearance; and after a little delay, the rear was cleared of those who had pressed in upon us, and we moved on, although but very slowly, from the frequent impediment thrown in our way by these wild equestrians.

“The shiekh's negroes, as they were called, meaning the black

chiefs and favourites, all raised to that rank by some deed of bravery, were habited in coats of mail composed of iron chain, which covered them from the throat to the knees, dividing behind and covering on each side of the horse. Some of them had helmets, or rather skull-caps of the same metal, with chain-pieces, all sufficiently strong to ward off the stroke of a spear. Their horses heads were also defended by plates of iron, brass, and silver, just leaving sufficient room for the eyes of the animal."

There is in Peale's museum, in Baltimore, a suit of armour precisely similar to those here described, which was brought from Russia, and had belonged to a Bashkur Tartar, in one of the remote south-eastern provinces. It is not unlikely that those of the sheikh's troops may have been brought by some caravan, after some strange mutation of property, from Tartary. They certainly were not made in Bornou, for there the manufacture of iron is in its rudest original state: their anvils are large stones, their hammers rough heavy bits of iron. Clapperton, in his journey to Sackatoo, was surprised to find, in the possession of some Felatah, a cross of Malta, and to meet with men armed with swords that formerly belonged to that celebrated order. They had been brought from the Mediterranean. It is amusing to observe how some articles, of less dignity, have found their way to Central Africa. The Sultan of Sackatoo, Bello, a man of high character and intelligence, sent him dinner one day on pewter dishes that bore the London mark; and in the market at Kano (I believe it was,) a city of Haussa, half way to Sackatoo, he purchased an English cotton umbrella for three dollars.

Wherever the armour came from, it was in this array that our travellers, after much tedious and fatiguing ceremony, entered Kouka, which might be called the great object of their journey. It was almost a year since they left Tripoli; two months and a half since they left Mourzuk; and from the former place, they had come 1200 miles.

The Sheikh into whose presence they were slowly ushered with great form and etiquette, they found in a "small dark room, sitting on a carpet, plainly dressed in a blue tobe of Soudan and a shawl turban. Two negroes were on each side of him, armed with pistols, and on his carpet lay a brace of these instruments. Fire-arms were hanging in different parts of the room, presents from

the Bashaw and Mustapha L'Achmar, the Sultan of Fezzan, which are here considered as invaluable. His personal appearance was prepossessing, apparently not more than forty-five, with an expressive countenance, and a benevolent smile. We delivered our letter from the Bashaw. After he had read it, he enquired 'what was our object in coming?' We answered, 'to see the country merely, and to give an account of its inhabitants, produce, and appearance, as our Sultan was desirous of knowing every part of the globe.' His reply was, that 'we were welcome, and whatever he could show us would give him pleasure; that he had ordered huts to be built for us in the town; that we might then go, accompanied by one of his people, to see them; and that when we were recovered from the fatigues of our long journey, he would be happy to see us.' With this we took our leave.

"Our huts were little round buildings, placed within a wall (of clay) at no great distance from the Sheikh's: the enclosure was quadrangular, and had several divisions formed by partitions of straw mats, where nests of huts were built, and occupied by the stranger merchants who accompanied the *kafila*. One of these divisions was assigned to us, and we crept into the shade of our earthly dwellings, not a little fatigued with our entre and presentation."

In a few hours, they were again taken to the Sheikh, and carried the presents they had brought for him from England; in examining which he displayed great shrewdness. During the conversation, he showed evident satisfaction at their assurance that the King of England had heard of him and Bornou. "This," said he, turning to one of his officers, "is in consequence of our defeating the Begharmies." "Upon which, the chief who had most distinguished himself in these memorable battles, seating himself in front of us, demanded, 'Did he ever hear of me?' The immediate reply of 'certainly,' did wonders for our cause. Exclamations were general; and, 'ah, then your king must be a great man!' was re-echoed from every side."

In El Kanemy they always found an intelligent and faithful friend, notwithstanding the many reports that were circulated among the ignorant and credulous people, to their disadvantage. It was rumoured, for instance, that they would build ships on the lake, return home, and bring more white people to overrun the



country. Alarm at strangers, so superior in arts and arms to themselves, was not to be wondered at. They could not comprehend how people should come so far, merely from curiosity; and the Moorish merchants, apprehensive of a rival commerce, encouraged these causes of distrust. But El Kanemy, though he might for a moment yield to the general persuasion, always listened to reason, was convinced, and never withdrew his protection or abated the kindness of his treatment. Their musical boxes, fire-arms, telescopes, rockets, Hillman's ingenious tools and works, their maps, books and papers, and descriptions of the modes and implements of war, and curiosities of their own country, excited his admiration, and continually elicited his natural goodness of feeling and sagacity. When they told him of cannon that would batter down the walls of cities, he inquired whether they had with them any thing like wild-fire, that might be thrown into a place and consume it; and was much disappointed when they answered that they had not. The Swiss Rans-des-vaches, played by the musical box, deeply affected him: "He covered his face with his hand, and listened in silence; and on one man near him breaking the charm with a loud exclamation, he struck him a blow which made all his followers tremble."

At Kouka our travellers made their principal abode, and thence visited various parts of the interior. It is one of the largest cities of Bornou, and stands about 15 miles from the lake Tchad. Angornou, the largest and most populous town of the empire, containing 30,000 inhabitants, is situated about 16 miles from Kouka, and two miles from Birnie, the residence of the Sultan. To the latter they went first; and were presented to the Sultan of Bornou. "He received us in an open space in front of the royal residence: we were kept at a considerable distance, while his people approached to within a hundred yards, passing first on horse-back; and after dismounting, and prostrating themselves before him, they took their places on the ground in front, but with their backs to the royal person, which is the custom of the country. He was seated in a sort of cage of cane or wood, and through the railing looked upon the assembly, who formed a sort of semicircle before him. Nothing could be more absurd and grotesque than the figures who formed this court. Here was all the outward show of pomp and grandeur, without one particle of power: he

reigns and governs by the sufferance of the Sheikh; and the better to answer his views, by making him popular with all parties, the Sultan is amused by indulging in all the folly and bigotry of the ancient Negro sovereigns. Large bellies and large heads are indispensable for those who serve at the court of Bornou; and those who unfortunately possess not the former by nature, or on whom lustiness will not be forced by cramming, supply the deficiency by wadding, which, as they sit on the horse, gives the belly the curious appearance of hanging over the pommel of the saddle. The head is enveloped in folds of muslin or linen of various colours, though mostly white, so as to deform it as much as possible, and make it appear to be completely on one side." These bellies and turbans are not much worse than the hoops and periwigs, that were, not long since, indispensable at the court of St. James. Indeed, they would seem to be derived from each other. "Nearly in front of the Sultan was an extempore declaimer, shouting forth the praises and pedigree of his master; and near him, one who bore the long wooden *funfrum* (a trumpet about ten feet long) on which he ever and anon blew a blast, loud and unmusical. Nothing could be more ridiculous than the appearance of these people squatting down in their places, tottering under the weight and magnitude of their turbans and bellies, while their legs that appeared underneath, but ill accorded with the bulk of the other parts."

In the geography of Central Africa, the most remarkable feature is the great lake Tchad, which covers several thousand miles of country, and contains many inhabited islands.\* To the west of it is the empire of Bornou; and to the west of Bornou, that of Haussa, of which Sackatoo is the capital. On the northern shores of the lake is the kingdom of Kanem; and on its southern, those of Begharmi and Loggun. A large river, called the Yeou, falls into it from the west; and from the south, another, called the

\* "These islands are inhabited by the Biddoomah; who live by plundering on the main land, and carry off every thing they can pick up. Their habitations are three or four days' distant, towards the centre of the lake. The dread which the natives appear to have of these islanders, is almost equal to their fear of the Tuaricks; but the former are less rapacious and bloody in their visits. They sometimes plunder a village, and carry off the cattle in their canoes. No means are taken to put a stop to their depredations, even in Bornou, near the capital."

Shary, much more considerable. The inhabitants are numerous. Their prevailing colour is black; but there is a great variety of hue, from the mixture of different tribes and the effects of climate. Those of Kanem have handsomer and more regular forms and features than the rest. It is they who are now, in the frequent and sudden fluctuations of dominion that occur in those loosely constituted nations, masters and conquerors of Bornou. That central empire was formerly subdued and wrested from its Negro dynasty, by the Felatahs, a brave and hardy race of men from the south-west. But they had not possessed it long, when El Kanemy, with a handful of followers, rebelled, and, increasing his strength and forces with every victory, drove them back, and confined them within the limits of Haussa, where they still are masters. After this glorious success, preferring power to empty pomp, he declined the throne himself, but re-established the ancient Negro sovereigns; under cover of whose sacred name, he reigns as perpetual dictator. In consequence of these frequent inroads of whole tribes or nations upon each other, and the roving and unsettled character and habits of many of them, the population of Central Africa presents a jumbled and motley appearance. In Bornou, where those causes have oftenest occurred, it is particularly remarkable. Ten different languages, or dialects of the same language, are spoken in the empire. "The Shouaas have brought with them the Arabic; and are divided into tribes, still bearing the names of some of the most formidable Bedouin hordes of Egypt. It is said they can muster 15,000 in the field mounted." The Begharmis are also found in great numbers; also Tuaricks and Tibboos; and Kanemboos whom El Kanemy brought with him. These various foreign tribes constitute his armed force. The Bornou people, or the Negro nations of the country, are no warriors: they leave the cares of battle to others, and peaceably pass under the dominion of whoever succeeds in taking their country.

Government, in Central Africa, is absolute: laws arbitrary, and punishment summary. The murderer is handed over to the relations of the deceased, to be put to death with clubs; and thieves lose their hand, or are buried up to the neck in the ground, to be tormented by the flies and insects.

The towns are generally large and well built; with mud walls, thirty-five or forty feet high, and nearly twenty thick. "The

houses consist of several court-yards, between four walls, with apartments leading out of them for slaves; then a passage, and an inner court, leading to the habitations of the different wives, who have each a square space to themselves, enclosed by walls, and a handsome thatched hut. From thence, also, you ascend a wide staircase of five or six steps, leading to the apartments of the owner, which consist of two buildings like towers or turrets, with a terrace of communication between them, looking into the street, with a castellated window. The walls are made of reddish clay, as smooth as stucco, and the roofs most tastefully arched on the inside with branches, and thatched on the out with a grass known in Barbary by the name of *lidtlaur*. The horns of the gazelle and antelope serve as substitutes for nails or pegs. These are fixed in different parts of the walls, and on them hang the quivers, bows, spears and shields of the chief. A man of consequence will sometimes have four of these terraces and eight turrets, forming the faces of his mansion or domain, with all the apartments of his women within the space below. Not only those *en activité* (as the French would say,) but those on the superannuated list, are allowed habitations. Horses and other animals are usually allowed an enclosure near one of the court-yards forming the entrance. Dwellings, however, of this description are not common. Those generally used by the inhabitants are mere huts of straw, or huts of coarse mats made of grass that grows on the lake, or huts with circular mud walls. The latter are about eight feet in diameter inside, about the shape of a hay-stack, with a hole at the bottom to creep in at, and no windows." Water is their only beverage; their only utensils, earthen pots and wooden bowls. A small brass basin tinned is a present for a Sultan, and is used to drink out of. A large copper kettle will sell for a slave.

"The heat is excessive, but not uniform; from March to the end of June being the period when the sun has most power. At this season, about two hours after noon, the thermometer will rise sometimes to 105° and 107°; and scorching and suffocating winds from the south and south-east prevail. The nights are dreadfully oppressive; the thermometer not falling much below 100°, until a few hours before day light; when 86° or 88° denote comparative freshness. Towards the middle of May, Bornou is visited by vio-

lent tempests of thunder and lightning and rain. Yet in such a dry state is the earth at this time, and so quickly is the water absorbed, that the inhabitants scarcely feel the inconvenience of the season. They now prepare the ground for their corn; and it is all in the earth before the end of June, when the lakes and rivers begin to overflow; and from the extreme flatness of the country, tracts of many miles are quickly converted into large lakes of water. Nearly constant rains now deluge the land, with cloudy, damp, and sultry weather." In October the winter commences, and the crops are got in. The air is milder and more fresh. Towards the beginning of January, the thermometer seldom will mount higher, at any part of the day, than  $74^{\circ}$  or  $75^{\circ}$ ; and, in the morning, descends to  $58^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$ .

The inhabitants are exceedingly abstemious and simple in their diet. Bread is not known; and but little wheat is therefore sown. Barley is cultivated in small quantities; and also rice. They have four kinds of beans in great abundance. But the grain most in use among them is a species of millet, upon which feed the people of all classes, as well as the animals. Salt they scarcely know the use of; and, when they can procure it, will hold it in their mouths like sugar. Maize, cotton, and indigo grow wild along the borders of the lake. Onions are to be procured near the great towns only, but no other vegetable. "The people indeed have nothing beyond the bare necessities of life; and are rich only in slaves, bullocks and horses." Their dress consists of one, two, or three large shirts, according to the wearer's means: a cap of dark blue is worn on the head by persons of rank. Others, and generally all, go bare headed, with their heads shaved. They are scrupulous Mussulmans, and less tolerant than the Arabs.

Their only implement of husbandry is an ill shaped hoe, which they rudely manufacture of iron brought from the Mandara mountains; and the labours of their wretched agriculture devolve, almost entirely, on women.

They seldom take more than two or three wives at a time; but divorce them as often as they please. The women are particularly cleanly; and have large mouths, thick lips, and high foreheads. They tattoo themselves.

The domestic animals are dogs, sheep, goats, cows, and herds of oxen beyond all calculation. The Shouaas on the banks of the

Tchad, have probably 20,000, near their different villages; and the shores of the great river Shary could furnish double that number. They also breed multitudes of horses, with which they furnish the Soudan market. The domestic fowl is common; game also is abundant. It consists of antelopes, gazelles, hares, partridges, grouse, wild ducks and geese, pelicans, guinea-fowl, and ostriches. The wild animals are lions, tiger-cats, leopards, hyenas, jackalls, civet cat, the fox, and hosts of monkeys of all sizes and colours; besides the elephant, the buffaloe, cameleopard, hippopotamus and crocodile. The beasts of burthen used by the inhabitants are the bullock and the ass. Upon these they ride, with their produce, to market. Camels are found in the possession of strangers only, and men of high distinction and office. The sheep has hair, and not wool.

They have no gold. Brass and copper are brought in small quantities from Barbary; and probably silver also. Iron they procure in the Mandara mountains; a very high chain, that runs from the north-west to the south-east, nine days' journey south of Kouka. In these mountains the river Shary seems to take its rise. They correspond very nearly, to the position given in ancient maps to the "Mountains of the Moon;" which had begun to be pronounced mountains in the moon, from not having been discovered or mentioned by modern travellers. Denham, in an interesting journey which he took to them, in company with a marauding expedition in search of slaves, which had nearly proved fatal to him, as it did to Boo Khaloom and many of his Arabs, describes them as being from 2,500 to 5,000 feet in height, and very bold and alpine in their features. We wish we had room to describe that excursion more fully; but we must defer it, as well as those to Loggun and along the northern shores of the lake. Clapperton's important and interesting journey to Sackatoo, which occupied seven months, we must also reserve for some other time. In this sketch, our object has been to give a brief account of their principal discoveries. But much remains that our limits do not allow us to notice. What our readers have here seen, will induce them to refer to the work itself, by a perusal of which they will be amply compensated. It is, to our minds, one of the most interesting that we have ever seen. The striking novelty of the details, their indubitable truth, the sufferings of the travellers

their long absence, and final return, give it the reality of history, with all the brilliant hues of fiction. Their narrative is a collection of instructive facts, which, in no instance, any attempt is made to pervert into theory; and the style and sentiments are, in general, worthy of the subject.

The Niger, the long sought Niger, they did not succeed in reaching. Clapperton was informed, at Sackatoo, that he was within five days' journey of it, at the point where Park was lost. They collected various accounts of it from the natives, and drew from them a map of its course: but from the confused and vague accounts of ignorant people, with whose languages they were but imperfectly acquainted, we cannot form a reasonable conjecture. As the Niger must, in its long course through different nations, assume various names, which have not yet been ascertained, enquirers may easily be led into error: On their arrival at the Yeou, the Arabs called it the Nile; which shows what reliance may be placed on their geographical knowledge. From what we have been able to collect, we should conjecture, that the Niger must either discharge itself into the ocean at the Bight of Benin, or through the wide mouth of the Congo, or into the Tchad, from the south, under the name of the Shary. That immense inland sea has probably no outlet, unless it be during the rainy season, when it overflows: and if it have one, it must be at its western end; where, as Denham, who had examined its other shores, was told, there is the dry but elevated bed of a river. In those countries, where evaporation is so great, the sands so arid and thirsty, and the season so long in which there falls no rain, many of the rivers, which are full and impetuous in winter, are perfectly dry at other times. Clapperton looked, from an eminence, for several miles along the dry bed of one, which was two hundred yards wide, and whose banks were thirty or forty feet high. This waste of waters will account for the smallness of the Shary, if we suppose that river to be the Niger. At its mouth it is about half a mile wide, deep, and flowing with a rapid current, even in the dry season; and discharges as great a body of water, perhaps, as the Niger could have preserved, during its long course of 2,000 miles, from the absorption and evaporation to which it would be subjected. Into what sea, or river, or lake the Tchad pours its superfluous waters, if indeed it have an outlet, we shall not pre-

tend, in the actual state of our information, to determine; whether it be into some remote lake, or the Red Sea, or the Indian Ocean. It will probably be ascertained by Clapperton.

But we have led the intrepid explorers to the depths of Central Africa:—we must restore them to their friends and country.\* On the 14th of September, 1824, they turned away from the banks of the Tchad, and moved on homewards, to retrace their steps across the desert. The sands they safely crossed: and on the 26th January, 1825, they arrived at Tripoli; upwards of three years after their departure. During that time, they had penetrated further into Africa, and made the world better acquainted with its inhabitants, geography, and condition, than any other travellers that have lived to record their discoveries. The names of Clapperton, Denham, Oudney, Hillman, are now, and ever will be, almost as intimately associated with the idea of Africa, as that of Columbus with America.

\* Oudney died on the expedition to Sackatoo; and Lieutenant Toole, who had come almost unattended across the desert, to join them in Bornou, on that to the Shary and the southern shores of the lake.

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### The African Chief.

Some of our readers may perhaps recollect the story of the African Chieftain, published in the April number of the Repository, for 1825. We are peculiarly gratified to perceive, that William Cullen Bryant, Esq. the editor of the United States' Literary Gazette, and whose admirable genius for poetry is acknowledged both in this country and Europe, has done us the honour to perpetuate the memory of that unadorned statement of facts, by the following beautiful and pathetic stanzas:

Chained in the market place he stood,  
A man of giant frame,  
Amid the gathering multitude  
That shrunk to hear his name.—  
All stern of look and strong of limb,  
His dark eye on the ground;  
And silently they gazed on him,  
As on a lion bound.



Vainly, but well, that chief had fought,  
He was a captive now,  
Yet pride, that fortune humbles not,  
Was written on his brow ;  
The scars his dark broad bosom wore,  
Showed warrior true and brave :  
A prince among his tribe before,  
He could not be a slave.

Then to his conqueror he spake—  
“ My brother is a king ;  
Undo this necklace from my neck,  
And take this bracelet ring,  
And send me where my brother reigns,  
And I will fill thy hands  
With stores of ivory from the plains,  
And gold dust from the sands.”

“ Not for thy ivory or thy gold  
Will I unbind thy chain ;  
That bloody hand shall never hold  
The battle spear again.  
A price thy nation never gave,  
Shall yet be paid for thee ;  
For thou shalt be the Christian's slave,  
In land beyond the sea.”

Then wept the warrior chief, and bade  
To shred his locks away ;  
And, one by one, each heavy braid  
Before the victor lay.  
Thick were the plaited locks, and long,  
And deftly hidden there  
Shone many a wedge of gold among  
The dark and crisped hair.

“ Look ! feast thy greedy eye with gold  
Long kept for sorest need,  
Take it—thou askest sums untold—  
And say that I am freed :  
Take it—my wife, the long, long day  
Weeps by the cocoa tree,  
And my young children leave their play,  
And ask in vain for me.”

“ I take thy gold—but I have made  
Thy fetters fast and strong,

And ween that by the cocoa shade  
 Thy wife shall wait thee long."  
 Strong was the agony that shook  
 The captive's frame, to hear,  
 And the proud meaning of his look  
 Was changed to mortal fear.

His heart was broken—crazed his brain—  
 At once his eye grew wild,  
 He struggled fiercely with his chain,  
 Whispered, and wept, and smiled;  
 Yet wore not long those fatal bands,  
 And once, at shut of day,  
 They drew him forth upon the sands,  
 The foul hyena's prey.

B.

*Contributions to the American Colonization Society, from  
 10th October, 1826, to 5th January, 1827, inclusive.*

From Joseph Nourse, Esq. per the following, viz :

A. B. a thank offering,	-	-	-	\$ 5 00	
collections in Presbyterian church, Harrodsburg,					
Ky. by Wm. Nourse, of Mercer co. Ky.	-			13 20	
do. in do. New Providence, Ky. per do.				11 56	
					29 76
collections in Reformed Protestant Dutch church, Market					
street, New York, Rev. Doct. McMurray Pastor, per John					
Scofield, treasurer,	-	-	-	-	35 00
do. in Presbyterian church in Washington, Pa. per O. Jennings, Esq.	-	-	-	-	16 00
do. in do. Cross Roads, Pa. per do.	-	-	-	-	10 00
do. in Rev. Mr. Moreland's church, Versailles, Woodford					
co. Ky. per T. B. Blackburn, Samuel Wilson, and A. Mul-					
drow, Esqrs.	-	-	-	-	18 00
do. at Lebanon, Conn.	-	-	-	-	10 00
do. at Westford, New York,	-	-	-	-	3 00
do. at Presbyterian church at Danville village, New York	-				4 57
do. in Presbyterian church at Hempstead, Rockland co. New					
York,	-	-	-	-	6 60
do. at Wantage, New Jersey, per Rev. E. Allen	-				10 82
do. in Lebanon congregation, of Rev. Thos. D. Baird, near					
Pittsburg, Pa.	-	-	-	-	6 00
do. in High Bridge church, Va. per Matthew Houston	-				7 00

*Carried forward.* \$ 156 76

		<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$ 156 75
Collections in Presbyterian church of Mercer, Pa. per Jos. Smith, Esq.			10 00
do. in Brick church, under care of Doctor Spring, New York, per A. G. Phelps, Esq.			82 69
do. at Monroe, Clark co. Ohio, by Fr. West, per A. Bradley, Esq.			9 00
do. in Second Presbyterian church, Wilmington, Delaware, per S. Sappington, Esq.			17 00
do. by Rev. R. R. Gurley, in the Northern cities, viz:			
Received from Mr. Wm. Hyde, Portland, Maine, money for the Repository			12 00
from Rev. Daniel Waterbury, Franklin co. N. Y.			16 42
from the Auxiliary Colonization Society, Troy, N. Y.			30 00
from the Olive street Baptist church, New York city, a collection of			30 00
N. Marlboro', N. Y. collection on the 4th July, per J. C. Brigham			13 00
from the congregation in Plattsburg, N. Y. per Moses Chase			16 00
collection in North Dutch Church, Albany, New York, after a discourse by Rev. R. R. Gurley, Nov. 26, 1826			74 25
do. do. in Presbyterian church, Hudson, N. Y.			7 68
do. do. in Presbyterian church, Catskill, N. Y.			20 69
from Auxiliary Colonization Society, Hudson			30 00
from Auxiliary Colonization Society, N. Y.			50 00
from Sunday School, No. 23, N. Y. on 4th July			11 00
collection in Presbyterian church, Petersborough, N. Y.			5 42
collection in Presbyterian congregation, Bloominggrove, N. Y. by Rev. G. Arbuckle,			16 00
collection in Coventry, Conn.			11 25
from a young lady, Albany, N. Y.			4 00
from two Friends			2 00
From collections at Huntsville, Alabama, per Geo. Holton, Esq.			55 00
do. in Cabin John church, Montgomery county, Md.			3 81
Auxiliary Society of Rockingham, Va. per Isaac Hardesty, Esq.			30 00
do. of Albemarle, Va. per Rev. J. D. Paxton			22 00
do. of Powhatan, Va. per D. A. Penick, Esq.			50 00
do. Frederick co. Va. per Rev. Wm. Meade			78 75
do. Union Colonization Society at Wilmington, Del. per S. Sappington, Esq.			58 00
do. of Vermont, per J. Loomis, Esq. Treasurer			650 00
Donation by C. Whittlesey, New Orleans			1 00
by D. A. Sherman, Esq. of Chettango, New York			6 00


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*Carried forward* 1,579 71

		<i>Brought forward,</i>	1,579 71
Donation by Rev. Ch. Wyckoff	-	-	6 00
by Robt. Munford, Esq. of Winnsboro', S. C.—his mite	-	-	5 00
by Jno. B. Carr, Esq. of Charlottesville, Va.	-	-	8 00
by Edward B. Littlefield, of Tennessee, (a slave holder)	-	-	-
per Wm. J. Frierson	-	-	25 00
by Jno. Frierson, of do. by do.	-	-	10 00
by Thos. Fairfax, Esq. of Fairfax co. Va.	-	-	100 00
by B. B. Hopkins, of Madison co. Georgia	-	-	5 00
by Margaret McClelland, of Jonesboro', Tennessee	-	-	1 00
by Caroline Aikin, of do.	-	-	1 00
by a friend, of do.	-	-	1 00
Subscriptions to the Repository	-	-	115 80
Collections by David Hale, Esq. of Boston	-	-	121 70
Collections by Rev. J. S. Williamson, of Silver Spring, Penn. per	-	-	-
Wm. Williamson, Esq.	-	-	5 46
Pennsylvania Society at Philadelphia, by Gerard Ralston, Esq. per	-	-	-
remittance	-	-	600 00
Robert Ralston, Esq. of Philadelphia, a balance in his hands	-	-	42 00
Repository	-	-	31 50
Collections on 4th July last, in Washington, Mississippi, per Rev.	-	-	-
Wm. Winans	-	-	20 50
Donation from Mount Pisgah Lodge, Green Castle, Penn.	-	-	5 00
Collections by Jno. French, in North Carolina and lower part of Vir-	-	-	-
ginia	-	-	149 74
By the Auxiliary Society of Greenbriar co. Va.	-	-	7 00
do. of Washington co. Pa.	-	-	32 00
do. of Portage co. Ohio,	-	-	5 00
do. of Piqua, Miami co. Ohio	-	-	10 00
do. of New-Hampshire, per Hon. Saml. Bell,	-	-	250 00
do. of Troy, Miami co. Ohio,	-	-	10 75
do. of Lynchburg, Va.	-	-	100 00
do. of Greensboro, N. C.	-	-	10 00
do. of Wheeling, Va. per N. McKee, Esq.	-	-	114 00
Liberian Society of Essex co. Va.	-	-	30 00
Temple Lodge, Winthrop, Maine,	-	-	20 00
W. F. Turner, Esq. of Colchester, Va. contributed by the ladies	-	-	-
of that place, for the purpose of constituting the pastor of	-	-	-
the first Congregational Society, a member of the Coloniza-	-	-	-
tional Society,	-	-	8 00

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\$ 3,430 17

 We invite the attention of our readers to the very able and interesting review of Denham and Clapperton, concluded in this number.

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

JANUARY, 1827.

[NO. XI.]

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**Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.**

The adjourned Annual Meeting of this Society, was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on Saturday evening, the 20th inst. when the Hon. Henry Clay, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, took the chair.

A letter from the *President* of the Society, JUDGE WASHINGTON, was read, expressing regret, that indisposition prevented his attendance. The Rev. Dr. LAURIE then opened the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. Mr. GURLEY announced as present the following delegates:

Hon. S. BELL, from the Auxiliary State Society, New-Hampshire.

Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR, }  
Hon. JOHN MATTOCKS, } do. Vermont.

Hon. SAMUEL LATHROP, Hampton County, Mass.

Hon. J. WOODS, Butler County, Ohio.

Hon. J. C. WRIGHT, Steubenville do. Ohio.

Hon. JOSEPH JOHNSON, Wheeling do. Virginia.

VOL. II.

HON. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, Trumbull and Portage Co. Ohio.

HON. W. M'LEAN, Piqua and Troy Counties, Ohio.

HON. JOHN WURTS, Auxiliary C. S. of Pennsylvania.

HON. J. LAWRENCE, Washington County, Pennsylvania.

HON. J. S. STEVENSON, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

MR. CLAY then resigned the Chair to the Hon. R. RUSH, another of the Vice Presidents of the Society.

The following resolutions, submitted at the meeting on the 13th inst. and which were adopted on that occasion, were read:

By Hon. S. VAN RENSSELAER,

*"Resolved,* That the thanks of the Society be given to the Board of Managers, for their unremitted attention to its objects during the year, and for the Report just read, and that they be requested to print the same."

By Hon. Mr. WEEMS:

*"Resolved,* That the thanks of this Society be presented to the various Auxiliary Associations, who, during the last year, have given their aid to its objects, and that they be respectfully and earnestly invited to co-operate still further, in accomplishing the design of the Institution."

The following resolution offered by the Hon. Mr. POWELL, of Virginia, at the meeting on Saturday, the 13th inst. was then considered and adopted:

[When offering this resolution, Mr. POWELL had borne testimony to a great change in his opinion of the Society. He said he had at first looked upon it as calculated to produce evil instead of good. He did not think it necessary to explain the manner in which the change had been effected; but he now felt convinced that this Society promised to be the instrument of great and beneficial results.]

*"Resolved,* That this Society has viewed with pleasure the formation of Auxiliary State Societies in several of the States of this Union, with subordinate Associations in the Counties of those States, and express the hope that a similar system may be adopted, as far as practicable, in all the States."

On motion of the Hon. Mr. LAWRENCE, it was

*Resolved,* That the thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. Clergy, of all denominations, for the warm interest evinced on their part in the objects it has in view, and that they be respectfully and earnestly requested to take up collections for its aid, on the next Anniversary of our National Independence.

Rev. WM. HAWLEY, Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of the District of Columbia, submitted the following preamble and resolution :

Whereas, some of the Masonic Lodges of our country, in the exercise of that charity which so pre-eminently distinguishes the Institution of Free Masonry, have generously come forward and liberally contributed to the funds of the American Colonization Society : Therefore,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to those Lodges that have already commenced the benevolent work of aiding this Society, in not only providing an asylum for the Free People of Colour in Africa, but also of greatly contributing to the abolition of the inhuman Slave Trade, and the introduction of Christianity and Civilization into that wretched and benighted land; and that other Masonic Institutions, and the fraternity generally, throughout the United States, be invited to co-operate in this important, patriotic, and truly benevolent object.

Mr. KNAPP, of Boston, Mass. then rose and addressed the meeting. He said that he was induced to second the motion, believing that if it were carried into effect, it would be of great benefit to the Society. During the last season, an agent of this Society travelled into that part of the country in which he (Mr. K.) resided, with the design of diffusing there a knowledge of the objects of the Society, and of invoking assistance from the benevolent and patriotic. By the means of the pulpit and the press, the agent called the attention of the community to this great concern. To almost all, it was a novel subject. True, it had been heard of through the public prints; yet, its objects and progress were not known, and the people were generally ignorant of the principles upon which it was founded. The agent pursued his labours with zeal and assiduity, aided by the few who had conceived just notions of the benevolent project; and there were some who were ready with their voices and with their purses to advance it, convinced that the Society were labouring in the cause of humanity; but with the great mass of the people, time and deliberation were required, before they could be enlisted in the good cause. Among the many means adopted by the friends of this Society in New England, for the attainment of their objects, one was an application to the Masonic Lodges. Mr. K. said he was a member of the fraternity, and with his brethren, was desirous that the subject should be considered in all its bearings, before any effective steps should be taken, and that this deliberation should be had without bias or prejudice; for Masons, although ever anxious to do good whenever a fair opportunity offered itself, yet, were not infected with that sickly sensibility which is forever painting in odious colours the horrors of negro slavery; crying up a crusade against the holders of slaves, and ready to oppose them in any way, without looking behind them or before for example or argument. They did deliberate. They considered the past and the present, and cast many an inquiring

glance into the darkened mists of the future. They knew that, at one period, slavery existed throughout the whole of the thirteen States of our early Confederacy: they knew that where slavery had been abolished it had operated to the advantage of the masters, not of the slaves: they saw this fact most strikingly illustrated in the case of the free negroes of Boston. If, on the anniversary celebrated by the Free People of Colour, of the day on which slavery was abolished, they looked abroad, what did they see? Not freemen, in the enjoyment of every attribute of freedom, with the stamp of liberty upon their brows! No, sir; they saw a ragged set, crying out liberty! for whom liberty had nothing to bestow, and whose enjoyment of it was but in name. He spoke of the great body of the blacks; there were some few honourable exceptions, he knew, which only proved what might be done for all.

What then was to be done? They saw that a great, a formidable evil existed; they knew something should be done; but how to attack that evil, how to act at once with propriety and effect, were the questions. They knew that the feelings of the South were to be regarded. At the East, they hated slavery; but they loved union and harmony more; nor did they desire to compromise the latter in their endeavours to remove the former; and in any efforts to ameliorate the condition of the degraded African, they did sincerely desire that the rights and feelings of all might be regarded—and that no infringement of the social compact should be involved; they wished even more—that no suspicion of such an infringement should be entertained, fully sensible of the delicacy of the subject. Under these circumstances, the fraternity stopped to inquire and to deliberate; and he was made the humble instrument of that inquiry. And, sir, (said Mr. K.) I must candidly say that my prejudices were strong, but my inquiry terminated in the most satisfactory conviction, not only that the objects of this Society were wise and benevolent, but that they were even worthy of the assistance of the citizens of the South, as well as other parts of the country, to whom they promised vast benefits; and although a few individuals of the South may entertain suspicions, I trust that they will all ultimately be dispelled. I looked upon the many evils of slavery with the aversion of a freeman; but I saw also that the evils were not confined to those who are virtually slaves. I saw that to those persons on whom circumstances had bestowed freedom, it operated as a curse, when they had not the means of obtaining knowledge, and of giving scope to the talents God had given them by nature. Take the greater part of those who had received their freedom by clemency, policy, or accident, or were born free, what did they know of freedom? What sense had they of its blessings? They were still, whilst in its nominal enjoyment, the same despised, degraded beings. Ignorance was their's from infancy: they had no social or political relations in the community—of which they were not members, but excrescences—thrown from a state of dependence and submission, abroad upon society; standing forth in odious distinctness from those who would not acknowledge them as fellow citizens; without a root in the soil from which they sprung, their liberty was statutory,



and looked well in the volume of laws, and in the code of the rights of man; but it was without essence and worthless, because it was without knowledge.

It is sometimes said by the desponding, that slavery is too great an evil ever to be remedied. The civilized world, or the European part of it, once made the struggle, and after centuries of religious exertion, succeeded. For two hundred years slavery had been abolished in most of the nations which professed the Christian religion, when the Portuguese commenced the accursed traffic again, to assist their numerous colonies. France and England had not moral energy enough to refrain, but followed the example to meet their rivals in the sugar and coffee market. It was no part of the calculations of our progenitors to cultivate the lands by slaves. The first were driven on our soil by accident; and in an evil hour, the indolence of the people prevailed over their sense of justice. The magnitude of the evil was not foreseen at that moment. In my opinion, it may be cured in less time than it has been growing up. Open once the facilities of emigration—show an object for it, and like any other business, it will increase to any extent we may wish. The natural world has yielded her impossibilities, as they were thought, to the efforts of enlightened man. Why should not he be as successful in the moral? A fair and permanent road is now built over the Alps, the passage of which was once considered as sufficient to give immortality to the successful adventurer. Inveterate diseases have yielded to skill and perseverance; political evils are vanishing before the statesman and economist; and why should the task this Society have undertaken, be held in greater dread than others?

Sir, this Society has grown up from the immediate spot where these evils most abound—from the slave holding States. The originators of this Society saw the danger of this growing ill, and enquired how it might be alleviated at the present, and obliterated by degrees. They looked around them with the humane endeavour to find a place where the liberty of the African might be real—where it might be no longer the emptiest of mockeries: for what is freedom without the emancipation of intellect? Where should this holy spot be found? What land should give freedom to this degraded race? They could not hope to fix a colony in America. We wanted no nation of blacks here; and had they been fixed on some of our uncultivated lands of the remote West, they would have been in danger from red men and white. They would be distant from either, and abused by both. This was first thought of by some; but those who saw how rapidly the Western regions were filling up with a white population, wisely argued that it would not do to send the colony there. The Society then turned their eyes upon Africa. And where should they fix the place of African regeneration, but in Africa? To many, the very name of Africa conveys an idea of indistinct horror; in the imagination, that word is often associated with all that is fearful in nature. It implies endless forests, into which man never penetrated; vast deserts, whose sands are eternally tossed by the whirlwind; sweeping torrents, spreading devastation, poisonous serpents, darting upon the venturous traveller; furious beasts, and every wild and formidable terror.

But, sir, this is entirely a fallacy. Africa is the only continent which derives its name from itself—from the character of its soil and climate. The word implies a horn of plenty, or an ear of corn; and Africa is the most fertile country on the globe. It has more sea coast than any other of the continents of the Eastern Hemisphere. Its climate affords every delicacy which nature produces; there was not a luxury on the table of a Roman epicure, which Africa did not yield. The coffee, the tea plant, and the sugar cane, find there a congenial soil, and yield rich harvests; and that the soil will produce grain in abundance, is not to be doubted. It is an established rule of nature, that where man exists, that which is necessary for his support shall be produced.

It had been said that establishing this Colonization Society was merely a method adopted to get rid of these People, and that as such it would doubtless succeed, as they would go to Africa and die, and thus the object would be effected; but this is opposed to philosophy and experience; for it is a general rule, that every climate to which man becomes acclimated, is equally healthy. And, for proof of the nature of an African climate, witness the bones and muscles, and the hardy frames of the natives. Why then, it may be asked, cannot this Colony support itself, if it is so well situated as to soil and climate? I believe, the history of man shows us no instance, in which an early Colony supported itself. How was it with the two great Colonies of this country? Did they support themselves? Did Jamestown go on in its early period, without assistance? No, sir;—that great State, which has produced so many Statesmen and Orators, was in its incipient stages, sustained, and, I may say, established, by courtesy: for, it will be remembered, that the Government of England granted a lottery for the benefit of the Colonists; and, without that aid, notwithstanding the bravery of Smith, and the constant perseverance of the settlers, they must have failed in their endeavors to found a great and wealthy State. I will now come nearer home, and consider the condition of the fathers of New England. The feeble Colonists of Plymouth could never have sustained themselves without other aid than their own. They never could have braved, with success, the perils of their early settlement, unassisted. And this leads me again to speak of the effect of climate upon the first Colonists of a new country. Where were the first settlers of Jamestown before the four seasons had rolled over their new habitations? They were in their graves. And most of those persecuted men, who first stood upon the rock of Plymouth, were numbered with the dead, ere the next December's sun shone sickly upon the iron bound coast.

Those early Colonists were a sacrifice to public good. They were destined to make way for other offerings on the altar of enterprize. This is not unusual. The history of all times is full of instances. A thousand causes which might be mentioned, lead to it; privations, over exertions, and want of a thorough knowledge of the climate, are among them. Other reasons come to us in a formal array against the endeavour to plant a Colony in Africa. It is said, that the mind of the people of Nigritia and other parts of Africa is

not susceptible of high cultivation : that the Africans are a stupid race, whose nature, as was said of Caliban, was such, "that nurture would not stick to it." But, sir, this is the most unjust, as well as the most futile method of argument. As well might you judge of the fleet Arabian courser, by some poor hack horse which you should meet on your way to the Capitol, worn down under the lash, and feebly and unwillingly dragging his burthen, like a raw-boned Rozinante, as judge of the powers of the African mind, by the miserable, degraded wretches who dwell, shunned and contemned, among us. Sir, facts and history are opposed to this habit of disparaging the intellect of the sable sons of Africa. Some as great men as any nation ever produced, were born in that country.

I might name many whom history and their own works have immortalized. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and Tertullian, were Africans ; and Terence, as sweet a bard as ever strung the lyre to song, was an African. Need I name Hanno and Hannibal ? Or need I remind you, that it is contended by some writers of no common fame, that Africa is the native land of the arts ; and that the science of Algebra had there its birth ? With these details I will not detain you ; but I will come down to our own times, and to our own country. And, if I am rightly informed, there lives among the Colonists now at Liberia, a man who was born in Africa, whose strength of intellect and elevation of character, might be the just cause of pride to any country. In the West Indies, there have been numerous instances which clearly prove, that the African character, even in a state of subjection, is capable of high improvement ; setting aside all the stories of Threefinger'd Jack, or Cudjoe, in the mountains of Jamaica. But, sir, in my country—a land not destitute of poets, as we believe,—an African woman, the well known Phillis Wheatley, has produced a volume of poetry, which, while it displays want of education, and was written at hours stolen from the labours of slavery, and was the production of a mind weighed down by the shackles of servitude—for almost every poem commences with a lamentation of her enslaved and abject condition—stands almost at the head of the poetry of the age in which it was produced. I speak of this new world, in which poetry had not, at that time, kept pace with other branches of improvement. From a full survey of the African character, I hold it false to say, that the mind of those born in that country is not susceptible of high advancement.

The principles upon which this Colony was established, are such as must ensure it the approval of the wise and the good. Other Colonies have been established for ambitious or commercial purposes. They have grown from factories to forts, and have followed up trade by conquest. Treachery succeeded confidence until those who first implored succour and protection, became masters of those who permitted them to get foot-hold in their country. The histories of the Indies sufficiently prove the assertion. But the Society have not done so. They have gone quietly, only defended by the holiness of their cause and the purity of their intentions, to the aborigines, with offers to purchase their territory ; they have gone forth to establish peace, comfort,

happiness, liberty, and independence; and not only these, but to make a stand on that coast, where a stand was never before effectually made, for the introduction of Christianity and Religion. And, as it has been justly said, that America established the first Lancasterian school to teach mankind their rights—this Society has thrown a slender branch of that school of the rights of man upon the coast of Africa. The natives will see what civilized men are, and from them will learn science, religion, and civilization.

The time was, when the torch of religion, and the lamp of science, shed their mingled rays over the People of Africa. The torch and the lamp have gone out, and darkness has usurped the place of light. But, we shall relume them again, and shed on the darkened minds of the People, the renovated lustre of Christianity and Civilization. Such were the thoughts of the projectors of this great design. This Society remembered that the Church of Christ was once prosperous in Africa. In one of the councils of the Church in that country, 277 Bishops, it is said, took their seats;—shall this country remain forever in barbarity? Should not every one who now calls upon the name of the true God, be engaged to re-build his kingdom in this desolation? But how was all this to be effected? for they had not only to establish a Colony in a wild and distant country, but they had to combat the prejudices—the honest long cherished prejudices of their countrymen, tenfold more difficult because they existed around our fire-sides: Ten-fold more difficult to conquer than a common enemy, because the conquest must be achieved by gentle means, by untiring exertions, and by kindly endeavours to convince and persuade. This great object, I sincerely believe, is well nigh effected. It must be brought about by a simultaneous movement of all those great engines which controul the moral influences in this country. The pulpit, that great lever of the moral world, must be used as heretofore. The public presses must be resorted to; for letters, in this day of intelligence, soften asperities, conquer the prejudices, and assist in forming the opinions of all classes in the community. The Masonic Lodges in every part of the country, must be applied to, for assistance.—Their existence is permanent, and what they may be brought to do, will not be a mere momentary act of charity, but their liberality will increase, as the dictates of their understanding shall become more and more convinced of the importance of the undertaking, and when once the question of utility is fully established, no pains will be spared in using the true means to reach such desirable ends. The State Legislatures will, from these numerous sources, catch the song of benevolence and Christian enterprize, and extend it to the Hall of Congress. It will become a national object, beginning at the true foundation, from the disposition, the feelings, and the convictions of the People.—This is public opinion; not that transitory, volatile unanalyzed air, which is often taken for public sentiment, when it is nothing more than popular excitement. From the smallest beginnings have arisen the greatest affairs of the world. Godfrido's preaching brought about the Crusades;—a hand full of wanderers settled Rome; and a single adventurous spirit taught Europe the way to the

Western Hemisphere; and who can say, but the exertions of a few individuals who conceived the plan of the Colonization Society may not be the foundation of an empire more enlightened than any time in his course has seen?

Sir, there is a glory in this subject which I love to dwell upon; there is a grandeur in the idea of carrying back the light to the East, whence we obtained it, which swells every bosom that throbs at the name of our country's greatness. The tide of empire and of intellect has been westward for centuries: and now let us flash back the rays of our glory and our liberty upon the darkened lands of the East. There that light will rise in strength and grandeur, brightening, by reflection, our country and its institutions. There is nothing visionary in this. Had you asked those who settled in Jamestown, whether they dared to dream that our country would, in this little space, rise to such a pitch of power and greatness as it now enjoys, they would have told you that hope alone was their's. The time may come when the darkness of Ethiopia and Mauritania shall have settled upon this land; and then we shall still have a name upon the earth, and live in the memory of that happy race, whose early steps this Society have guided, and who will have been trained up in the paths of religion and independence.

The time of doubt and fear is past, and we may confide in the result of the labors of this Society. Is it to be believed that a continent whose soil is the most fertile on earth, where every luxury grows spontaneously, and where the rivers roll upon golden sands, is destined to remain the abode of ignorance and superstition? No! In that land where now the rites of Moloch and the feasts of cannibals offend the merciful will of our Christian God, the religion which we profess shall spread its influence pure and undefiled; and the voice of thanks shall roll back to our country over the waste of waters. Let no man say this is visionary. It is well known with what satire and ridicule the anticipations of the good Dean Berkley of the glories of this Country, were treated both in prose and verse. The learned statesmen of that age, were amused at the prophesies of the enlightened enthusiast, when he sung that *westward the Star of Empire takes its way*.

One word more, and I have done. Sir, when we look directly before us and see a small beginning, a thousand objections are found which seem important, and which receive far more attention than they merit. It has been said that the Colony have shed blood. It is not denied; and I believe it was justified. It is justifiable to shed blood to sustain the cause of civilization and freedom; far more justifiable than to do it to sustain thrones and dominations. It was necessary on that foreign coast to establish for our Colony a character for firmness and bravery, which should awe those around them from aggression. That character has been established, and it will impress the natives with fear and respect. I understand that there are a number of native youths in the Seminary of the Colony. They will imbibe with the sciences which are taught them, a respect for the firmness, and an admiration of the justice of the Colony. These feelings and acquirements they will carry into the interior; and who can predict the vast extent of the connexions which may thus be formed, or the good that may thus be dispensed?

Sir, I have no doubt of the character of the Society; and if I had entertained any such doubt, I should have needed only to glance over the names which compose the list of members. Sir, in that list I find the names of men whose legal decisions have become the opinions of the intelligent, throughout our country. I find, also, the names of men, upon whose lips listening Senates have hung with rapture. Their fame is indelibly fixed on the tablets of our history; but their best and most permanent renown is recorded here. The fame of the patriot may be evanescent; but that of the philanthropist is permanent. The firmest memorial of a great man, is inscribed in the cause of benevolence. It is inscribed in tablets of flesh; it awakens the throb of gratitude in the hearts of men, which receive those living characters, and transmit them from generation to generation. Rise, then, ye statesmen! ye sages and ye orators! join all your efforts in this noble cause; and let the time quickly come when the deserts of Numidia and the sands of Barca shall rejoice in the light of liberty and religion, and learning and science spread widely over those benighted realms.

The resolution submitted by the Rev. Mr. HAWLEY, was then adopted.

Dr. LAURIE prefaced the following resolution with a few remarks.

*Mr. President,*

The resolution I am now to offer, is one which must approve itself to the understanding and to the good feelings of every individual who has marked the progress of the settlement at Liberia, from almost the period when the first band of Colonists arrived at Montserado, to the present hour: it is a resolution expressing the approbation, the thanks of this Society to Mr. Ashmun, the Colonial Agent, for the wisdom and zeal manifested by him, in conducting the affairs of the Colony.—I offer it without farther preamble.

*Resolved,* That the thanks of this Society be given to Mr. ASHMUN, the Colonial Agent, for the faithfulness, zeal, and ability with which he has discharged the duties of the trust reposed in him: which was adopted.

Mr. CLAY rose. I cannot (said he) withhold the expression of my congratulations to the Society on account of the very valuable acquisition which we have obtained in the eloquent gentleman from Boston, (Mr. KNAPP,) who has just favoured us with an address. He has told us of his original impressions, unfavourable to the object of the Society, and of his subsequent conversion. If the same industry, investigation and unbiassed judgment, which he and another gentleman, (Mr. POWELL,) who avowed at the last meeting of the Society, a similar change wrought in his mind, were carried, by the public at large, into the consideration of the plan of the Society, the conviction in its favour would be universal.

I have risen to submit a resolution, in behalf of which I would bespeak the favour of the Society. But before I offer any observations in its support, I must say that, whatever part I shall take in the proceedings of this Society,

whatever opinions or sentiments I may utter, they are exclusively my own. Whether they are worth any thing or not, no one but myself is at all responsible for them. I have consulted with no person out of this Society; and I have especially abstained from all communication or consultation with any one to whom I stand in any official relation. My judgment on the object of this Society, has been long since deliberately formed. The conclusions to which, after much and anxious consideration, my mind has been brought, have been neither produced nor refuted by the official station, the duties of which have been confided to me.

From the origin of this Society, every member of it has, I believe, looked forward to the arrival of a period, when it would become necessary to invoke the public aid in the execution of the great scheme which it was instituted to promote. Considering itself as the mere pioneer in the cause which it had undertaken, it was well aware that it could do no more than remove preliminary difficulties, and point out a sure road to ultimate success; and that the public only could supply that regular, steady, and efficient support, to which the gratuitous means of benevolent individuals would be found incompetent. My surprise has been, that the Society has been able so long to sustain itself, and to do so much upon the charitable contributions of good and pious and enlightened men, whom it has happily found in all parts of our country. But our work has so prospered, and grown under our hands, that the appeal to the power and resources of the public, should be no longer deferred. The resolution which I have risen to propose, contemplates this appeal. It is in the following words:—

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be empowered and directed, at such time or times as may seem to them expedient, to make respectful application to the Congress of the United States, and to the Legislatures of the different States, for such pecuniary aid, in furtherance of the object of this Society, as they may respectively be pleased to grant.

In soliciting the countenance and support of the Legislatures of the Union and the States, it is incumbent on the Society, in making out its case, to show, 1st. That it offers to their consideration a scheme which is practicable.— And 2d. That the execution of the practicable scheme, partial or entire, will be fraught with such beneficial consequences, as to merit the support which is solicited. I believe both points to be maintainable. 1st. It is now a little upwards of ten years, since a religious, amiable and benevolent resident\* of this city, first conceived the idea of planting a Colony, from the United States,

\* It has been, since the delivery of the Speech, suggested that the Rev. Robert Finley, of New Jersey, (who is also unfortunately dead,) contemplated the formation of a Society, with a view to the establishment of a Colony in Africa, and probably first commenced the project. It is quite likely that he did; and Mr. C. recollects seeing Mr. Finley, and consulting with him on the subject, about the period of the formation of the Society. But the allusion to Mr. Caldwell, was founded on the facts well known to Mr. Clay, of his active agency in the organization of the Society, and his unremitting subsequent labours, which were not confined to the District of Columbia, in promoting the cause.

of Free People of Colour, on the Western shores of Africa. He is no more; and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him, would be to inscribe upon his tomb, the merited epitaph, "Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society." Amongst others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honour of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own reflections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy of a fair trial. A meeting of its friends was called—organized as a deliberative body, and a Constitution was formed. The Society went into operation. He lived to see the most encouraging progress in its exertions, and died in full confidence of its complete success. The Society was scarcely formed, before it was exposed to the derision of the unthinking; pronounced to be visionary and chimerical by those who were capable of adopting wiser opinions, and the most confident predictions of its entire failure were put forth. It found itself equally assailed by the two extremes of public sentiment, in regard to our African population. According to one, (that rash class which, without a due estimate of the fatal consequence, would forthwith issue a decree of general, immediate, and indiscriminate emancipation,) it was a scheme of the slave holder to perpetuate slavery. || The other, (that class which believes slavery a blessing, and which trembles with aspen sensibility, at the appearance of the most distant and ideal danger to the tenure by which that description of property is held,) declared it a contrivance to let loose on society all the slaves of the country, ignorant, uneducated, and incapable of appreciating the value, or enjoying the privileges of freedom.† The Society saw itself surrounded by every sort of embarrassment. What great human enterprise was ever undertaken without difficulty? What ever failed, within the compass of human power, when pursued with perseverance, and blessed by the smiles of Providence? The Society prosecuted, undismayed, its great work, appealing for succour to the moderate, the reasonable, the virtuous, and religious portions of the public. It protested, from the commencement, and throughout all its progress, and it now protests, that it entertains no purpose, on its own authority, or by its own means, to attempt emancipation, partial or general; that it knows the General Government has no Constitutional power to achieve such an object; that it believes that the States, and the States only, which tolerate slavery, can accomplish the work of emancipation; and that it ought to be left to them, exclusively, absolutely, and voluntarily, to decide the question.

The object of the Society was the colonization of the free coloured people, not the slaves, of the country. Voluntary in its institution, voluntary in its continuance, voluntary in all its ramifications, all its means, purposes, and instruments are also voluntary. But it was said, that no free coloured persons

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† A Society of a few individuals, without power, without other resources than those which are supplied by spontaneous benevolence, to emancipate all the slaves of the country!



could be prevailed upon to abandon the comforts of civilized life, and expose themselves to all the perils of a settlement in a distant, inhospitable, and savage country; that, if they could be induced to go on such a quixotic expedition, no territory could be procured for their establishment as a Colony; that the plan was altogether incompetent to effectuate its professed object; and that it ought to be rejected as the idle dream of visionary enthusiasts. The Society has outlived, thank God, all these disastrous predictions. It has survived to swell the list of false prophets. It is no longer a question of speculation, whether a Colony can or cannot be planted from the United States, of free persons of colour, on the shores of Africa. It is a matter demonstrated: such a Colony, in fact, exists, prospers, has made successful war, and honourable peace, and transacts all the multiplied business of a civilized and Christian community.\* It now has about five hundred souls, disciplined troops, forts, and other means of defence, sovereignty over an extensive territory, and exerts a powerful and salutary influence over the neighbouring clans.

Numbers of the free African race among us are willing to go to Africa. The Society has never experienced any difficulty on that subject, except that its means of comfortable transportation have been inadequate to accommodate all who have been anxious to migrate. Why should they not go? Here they are in the lowest state of social gradation—aliens—political—moral—social aliens, strangers, though natives. There, they would be in the midst of their friends and their kindred, at home, though born in a foreign land, and elevated above the natives of the country, as much as they are degraded here below the other classes of the community. But on this matter, I am happy to have it in my power to furnish indisputable evidence, from the most authentic source, that of large numbers of free persons of colour themselves. Numerous meetings have been held in several churches in Baltimore, of the free people of colour, in which, after being organized as deliberative assemblies, by the appointment of a chairman (if not of the same complexion) presiding as you, Mr. Vice President, do, and secretaries, they have voted memorials addressed to the white people, in which they have argued the question with an ability, moderation, and temper, surpassing any that I can command, and emphatically recommended the Colony of Liberia to favourable consideration, as the most desirable and practicable scheme ever yet presented on this interesting subject. I ask permission of the Society to read this highly creditable document.

[Here Mr. C. read the memorial referred to.]

The Society has experienced no difficulty in the acquisition of a territory, upon reasonable terms, abundantly sufficient for a most extensive Colony. And land in ample quantities, it has been ascertained, can be procured in Africa, together with all rights of sovereignty, upon conditions as favourable

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\* See the last Annual Report, and the highly interesting historical sketch of the Rev. Mr. Ashmun.

as those on which the United States extinguish the Indian title to territory within their own limits.

In respect to the alleged incompetency of the scheme to accomplish its professed object, the Society asks that that object should be taken to be, not what the imaginations of its enemies represent it to be, but what it really proposes. They represent, that the purpose of the Society is, to export the whole African population of the United States, bond and free; and they pronounce this design to be unattainable. They declare, that the means of the whole country are insufficient to effect the transportation to Africa of a mass of population approximating to two millions of souls. Agreed; but that is not what the Society contemplates. They have substituted their own notion for that of the Society. What is the true nature of the evil of the existence of a portion of the African race in our population? It is not that there are *some*, but that there are so *many* among us of a different caste, of a different physical, if not moral, constitution, who never can amalgamate with the great body of our population. In every country, persons are to be found varying in their colour, origin, and character, from the native mass. But this anomaly creates no inquietude or apprehension, because the exotics, from the smallness of their number, are known to be utterly incapable of disturbing the general tranquillity. Here, on the contrary, the African part of our population bears so large a proportion to the residue of European origin, as to create the most lively apprehension, especially in some quarters of the Union. Any project, therefore, by which, in a material degree, the dangerous element in the general mass, can be diminished or rendered stationary, deserves deliberate consideration.

The Colonization Society has never imagined it to be practicable, or within the reach of any means which the several Governments of the Union could bring to bear on the subject, to transport the whole of the African race within the limits of the United States. Nor is that necessary to accomplish the desirable objects of domestic tranquillity, and render us one homogeneous people. The population of the United States has been supposed to duplicate in periods of twenty-five years. That may have been the case heretofore, but the terms of duplication will be more and more protracted as we advance in national age; and I do not believe that it will be found, in any period to come, that our numbers will be doubled in a less term than one of about thirty-three and a third years. I have not time to enter now into details in support of this opinion. They would consist of those checks which experience has shown to obstruct the progress of population, arising out of its actual augmentation and density, the settlement of waste lands, &c. Assuming the period of thirty-three and a third, or any other number of years, to be that in which our population will hereafter be doubled, if, during that whole term, the capital of the African stock could be kept down, or stationary, whilst that of European origin should be left to an unobstructed increase, the result, at the end of the term, would be most propitious.—Let us suppose, for example, that the whole population at present of the United States, is

twelve millions, of which ten may be estimated of the Anglo-Saxon, and two of the African race. If there could be annually transported from the United States, an amount of the African portion equal to the annual increase of the whole of that caste, whilst the European race should be left to multiply, we should find at the termination of the period of duplication, whatever it may be, that the relative proportions would be as twenty to two. And if the process were continued, during a second term of duplication, the proportion would be as forty to two—one which would eradicate every cause of alarm or solicitude from the breasts of the most timid. But the transportation of Africans, by creating, to the extent to which it might be carried, a vacuum in society, would tend to accelerate the duplication of the European race, who, by all the laws of population, would fill up the void space.

This Society is well aware, I repeat, that they cannot touch the subject of slavery. But it is no objection to their scheme, limited as it is exclusively to those free people of colour who are willing to migrate, that it admits of indefinite extension and application, by those who alone, having the competent authority, may choose to adopt and apply it. Our object has been to point out the way, to show that colonization is practicable, and to leave it to those States or individuals, who may be pleased to engage in the object, to prosecute it. We have demonstrated that a Colony may be planted in Africa, by the fact that an American Colony there exists. The problem which has so long and so deeply interested the thoughts of good and patriotic men, is solved—a country and a home have been found, to which the African race may be sent, to the promotion of their happiness and our own.

But, Mr. Vice-President, I shall not rest contented with the fact of the establishment of the Colony, conclusive, as it ought to be deemed, of the practicability of our purpose. I shall proceed to show, by reference to indisputable statistical details and calculations, that it is within the compass of reasonable human means. I am sensible of the tediousness of all arithmetical data, but I will endeavour to simplify them as much as possible.—It will be borne in mind that the aim of the Society is to establish in Africa a Colony of the free African population of the United States; to an extent which shall be beneficial both to Africa and America. The whole free coloured population of the United States, amounted in 1790, to 59,481; in 1800, to 110,072; in 1810, to 186,446; and in 1820, to 233,530. The ratio of annual increase during the first term of ten years, was about eight and a half per cent. per annum; during the second, about seven per cent. per annum; and during the third, a little more than two and a half. The very great difference in the rate of annual increase, during those several terms, may probably be accounted for by the effect of the number of voluntary emancipations operating with more influence upon the total smaller amount of free coloured persons at the first of those periods, and by the facts of the insurrection in St. Domingo, and the acquisition of Louisiana, both of which occurring during the first and second terms, added considerably to the number of our free coloured population.

Of all descriptions of our population, that of the free coloured, taken in the aggregate, is the least prolific, because of the checks arising from vice and want. During the ten years, between 1810 and 1820, when no extraneous causes existed to prevent a fair competition in the increase between the slave and the free African race, the former increased at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum, whilst the latter did not much exceed two and a half. Hereafter, it may be safely assumed, and I venture to predict will not be contradicted by the return of the next census, that the increase of the free black population will not surpass two and a half per cent. per annum. Their amount at the last census, being 233,530, for the sake of round numbers, their annual increase may be assumed to be 6000, at the present time. Now, if this number could be annually transported from the United States during a term of years, it is evident that, at the end of that term, the parent capital will not have increased, but will have been kept down at least to what it was at the commencement of the term. Is it practicable then to colonize annually six thousand persons from the United States, without materially impairing or affecting any of the great interests of the United States? This is the question presented to the judgments of the Legislative authorities of our country. This is the whole scheme of the Society. From its actual experience, derived from the expenses which have been incurred in transporting the persons already sent to Africa, the entire average expense of each Colonist, young and old, including passage money and subsistence, may be stated at twenty dollars per head. There is reason to believe that it may be reduced considerably below that sum. Estimating that to be the expense, the total cost of transporting 6000 souls annually, to Africa, would be \$120,000. The tonnage requisite to effect the object, calculating two persons to every five tons (which is the provision of existing law) would be 15,000 tons. But as each vessel could probably make two voyages in the year, it may be reduced to 7,500. And as both our mercantile and military marine might be occasionally employed on this collateral service, without injury to the main object of the voyage, a further abatement might be safely made in the aggregate amount of the necessary tonnage. The navigation concerned in the commerce between the Colony and the United States, (and it already begins to supply subjects of an interesting trade,) might be incidentally employed to the same end.

Is the annual expenditure of a sum no larger than \$120,000, and the annual employment of 7,500 tons of shipping, too much for reasonable exertion, considering the magnitude of the object in view? Are they not, on the contrary, within the compass of moderate efforts?

Here is the whole scheme of the Society—a project which has been pronounced visionary by those who have never given themselves the trouble to examine it, but to which I believe most unbiassed men will yield their cordial assent, after they have investigated it.

Limited as the project is, by the Society, to a Colony to be formed by the free and unconstrained consent of free persons of colour, it is no ob-

jection, but on the contrary, a great recommendation to the plan, that it admits of being taken up and applied on a scale of much more comprehensive utility. The Society knows, and it affords just cause of felicitation, that all or any one of the States which tolerate slavery may carry the scheme of colonization into effect, in regard to the slaves within their respective limits, and thus ultimately rid themselves of an universally acknowledged curse.— A reference to the results of the several enumerations of the population of the United States, will incontestably prove the practicability of its application on the more extensive scale. The slave population of the United States amounted, in 1790, to 697,697; in 1800, to 896,849; in 1810, to 1,191,364; and in 1820, to 1,538,128. The rate of annual increase, (rejecting fractions, and taking the integer to which they make the nearest approach,) during the first term of ten years, was not quite three per cent. per annum; during the second, a little more than three per cent. per annum, and during the third, a little less than three per cent. The mean ratio of increase for the whole period of thirty years, was very little more than three per cent. per annum. During the first two periods, the native stock was augmented by importations from Africa, in those States which continued to tolerate them, and by the acquisition of Louisiana. Virginia, to her eternal honour, abolished the abominable traffic among the earliest acts of her self-government. The last term alone presents the natural increase of the capital unaffected by any extraneous causes. That authorizes, as a safe assumption, that the future increase will not exceed three per cent. per annum. As our population increases, the value of slave labour will diminish, in consequence of the superior advantages in the employment of free labour. And when the value of slave labour shall be materially lessened, either by the multiplication of the supply of slaves beyond the demand, or by the competition between slave and free labour, the annual increase of slaves will be reduced, in consequence of the abatement of the motives to provide for and rear the offspring.

Assuming the future increase to be at the rate of three per cent. per annum, the annual addition to the number of slaves in the United States, calculated upon the return of the last census (1,538,128,) is 46,000. Applying the data which have been already stated and explained, in relation to the colonization of free persons of colour from the United States to Africa, to the aggregate annual increase both bond and free of the African race, and the result will be found most encouraging. The total number of the annual increase of both descriptions, is 52,000. The total expense of transporting that number to Africa, (supposing no reduction of present prices,) would be one million and forty thousand dollars, and the requisite amount of tonnage would be only 130,000 tons of shipping, about one-ninth part of the mercantile marine of the United States. Upon the supposition of a vessel's making two voyages in the year, it would be reduced to one half, 65,000. And this quantity would be still further reduced, by embracing opportunities of incidental employment of vessels belonging both to the mercantile and military marines.

But, is the annual application of \$1,040,000, and the employment of 65 or even 130,000 tons of shipping, considering the magnitude of the object, beyond the ability of this country? Is there a patriot, looking forward to its domestic quiet, its happiness and its glory, that would not cheerfully contribute his proportion of the burthen to accomplish a purpose so great and so humane? During the general continuance of the African slave trade, hundreds of thousands of slaves have been, in a single year, imported into the several countries whose laws authorized their admission. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the powers now engaged to suppress the slave trade, I have received information, that in a single year, in the single island of Cuba, slaves equal in amount to one half of the above number of 52,000 have been illicitly introduced. Is it possible that those who are concerned in an infamous traffic, can effect more than the States of this Union, if they were seriously to engage in the good work? Is it credible—is it not a libel upon human nature to suppose, that the triumphs of fraud and violence and iniquity, can surpass those of virtue and benevolence and humanity?

The population of the United States, being, at this time, estimated at about ten millions of the European race, and two of the African, on the supposition of the annual colonization of a number of the latter, equal to the annual increase, of both of its classes, during the whole period necessary to the process of duplication of our numbers, they would, at the end of that period, relatively stand twenty millions for the white, and two for the black portion. But an annual exportation of a number equal to the annual increase, at the beginning of the term, and persevered in to the end of it, would accomplish more than to keep the parent stock standing. The Colonists would comprehend more than an equal proportion of those of the prolific ages. Few of those who had passed that age would migrate. So that the annual increase of those left behind, would continue gradually, but, at first, insensibly, to diminish; and, by the expiration of the period of duplication, it would be found to have materially abated. But it is not merely the greater relative safety and happiness which would, at the termination of that period, be the condition of the whites. Their ability to give further stimulus to the cause of colonization will have been doubled, whilst the subjects on which it would have to operate, will have decreased or remained stationary. If the business of colonization should be regularly continued during two periods of duplication, at the end of the second, the whites would stand to the blacks, as forty millions to not more than two, whilst the same ability will have been quadrupled. Even if colonization should then altogether cease, the proportion of the African to the European race, will be so small, that the most timid may then, for ever, dismiss all ideas of danger from within or without, on account of that incongruous and perilous element in our population.

Further, by the annual withdrawal of 52,000 persons of colour, there would be annual space created for an equal number of the white race. The period, therefore, of duplication of the whites, by the laws which govern population, would be accelerated.

Such, Mr. Vice President, is the project of the Society, and such is the extension and use which may be made of the principle of colonization, in application to our slave population, by those States which are alone competent to undertake and execute it. All, or any one, of the States which tolerate slavery, may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it by foreign nations—if I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved State which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy, for the honour of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conquerer.

Having, I hope, shown that the plan of the Society is not visionary, but rational and practicable; that a Colony does in fact exist, planted under its auspices; that free people are willing and anxious to go; and that the right of soil as well as of Sovereignty may be acquired in vast tracts of country in Africa, abundantly sufficient for all the purposes of the most ample Colony, and at prices almost only nominal, the task which remains to me of shewing the beneficial consequences which would attend the execution of the scheme, is comparatively easy.

Of the utility of a total separation of the two incongruous portions of our population, supposing it to be practicable, none have ever doubted. The mode of accomplishing that most desirable object, has alone divided public opinion. Colonization in Hayti, for a time, had its partizans. Without throwing any impediments in the way of executing that scheme, the American Colonization Society has steadily adhered to its own. The Haytien project has passed away. Colonization beyond the Stony Mountains has sometimes been proposed; but it would be attended with an expense and difficulties far surpassing the African project, whilst it would not unite the same animating motives. There is a moral fitness in the idea of returning to Africa her children, whose ancestors have been torn from her by the ruthless hand of fraud and violence. Transplanted in a foreign land, they will carry back to their native soil the rich fruits of religion, civilization, law and liberty. May it not be one of the great designs of the Ruler of the Universe, (whose ways are often inscrutable by short sighted mortals,) thus to transform an original crime into a signal blessing, to that most unfortunate portion of the Globe. Of all classes of our population, the most vicious is that of the free coloured. It is the inevitable result of their moral, political, and civil Degradation. Contaminated themselves, they extend their vices to all around them, to the slaves and to the whites. If the principle of colonization should be confined to them; if a Colony can be firmly established and successfully continued in Africa, which should draw off annually, an amount of that portion of our population equal to its annual increase, much good will be done. If the principle be adopted and applied by the States, whose laws sanction

the existence of slavery, to an extent equal to the annual increase of slaves, still greater good will be done. This good will be felt by the Africans who go, by the Africans who remain, by the white population of our country, by Africa, and by America. It is a project which recommends itself to favour in all the aspects in which it can be contemplated. It will do good in every and any extent in which it may be executed. It is a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.

Every emigrant to Africa is a missionary carrying with him credentials in the holy cause of civilization, religion, and free institutions. Why is it that the degree of success of missionary exertions is so limited, and so discouraging to those whose piety and benevolence prompt them? Is it not because the missionary is generally an alien and a stranger, perhaps of a different colour and from a different tribe? There is a sort of instinctive feeling of jealousy and distrust towards foreigners which repels and rejects them in all countries; and this feeling is in proportion to the degree of ignorance and barbarism which prevail. But the African Colonists, whom we send to convert the heathen, are of the same colour, the same family, the same physical constitution. When the purposes of the Colony shall be fully understood, they will be received as long lost brethren restored to the embraces of their friends and their kindred, by the dispensations of a wise Providence.

The Society is reproached for agitating this question. It should be recollected that the existence of free people of colour is not limited to the States only which tolerate slavery. The evil extends itself to all the States, and some of those which do not allow of slavery, (their cities especially) experience the evil in an extent even greater than it exists in the slave States. A common evil confers a right to consider and apply a common remedy. Nor is it a valid objection that this remedy is partial in its operation, or distant in its efficacy. A patient, writhing under the tortures of excruciating disease, asks of his physician to cure him if he can, and, if he cannot, to mitigate his sufferings. But the remedy proposed, if generally adopted and perseveringly applied, for a sufficient length of time, should it not entirely eradicate the disease, will enable the body politic to bear it without danger and without suffering.

We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitation of this question. The Society goes into no household to disturb its domestic tranquillity; it addresses itself to no slaves to weaken their obligations of obedience. It seeks to affect no man's property. It neither has the power nor the will to affect the property of any one, contrary to his consent. The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property left behind. The Society, composed of free men, concerns itself only with the free. Collateral consequences, we are not responsible for. It is not this Society which has produced the great moral revolution which the age exhibits. What would they, who thus reproach us, have done? If they would repress all tendencies towards Liberty and ultimate emancipation, they must do more than put down the benevolent efforts of this Society. They must



go back to the era of our Liberty and Independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade with all its train of atrocities. They must suppress the workings of British philanthropy, seeking to meliorate the condition of the unfortunate West Indian slaves. They must arrest the career of South American deliverance from thralldom. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, their work will be yet incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul, and eradicate the light of reason and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery, and repress all sympathies and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race who are doomed to bondage.

Our friends, who are cursed with this greatest of human evils, deserve the kindest attention and consideration. Their property and their safety are both involved. But the liberal and candid among them will not, cannot, expect that every project to deliver our country from it is to be crushed, because of a possible and ideal danger.

Animated by the encouragement of the past, let us proceed under the cheering prospects which lie before us. Let us continue to appeal to the pious, the liberal, and the wise. Let us bear in mind the condition of our forefathers, when, collected on the beach of England, they embarked, amidst the scoffings and the false predictions of the assembled multitude, for this distant land; and here, in spite of all the perils of forest and ocean, which they encountered, successfully laid the foundations of this glorious Republic. Undismayed by the prophecies of the presumptuous, let us supplicate the aid of the American Representatives of the people, and redoubling our labours, and invoking the blessings of an all-wise Providence, I boldly and confidently anticipate success. I hope the resolution which I offer will be unanimously adopted.

The resolution submitted by Mr. CLAY, was then considered and adopted.

*[Proceedings to be continued in our next number.]*

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## Prospects of the Society.

The Annual Meeting of the Society in the Capitol, on the 20th instant, was one of extraordinary interest, and proved that public opinion has experienced, the year past, an extensive and very favourable change in reference to this Institution.

For every sentiment expressed on this occasion, the Managers do not hold themselves responsible; but it may be proper to say, that their views generally, were presented in a powerful and eloquent manner, and that the proceedings of the meeting appeared to be highly gratifying to a crowded and very intelligent audience.

The time has arrived, when our Friends throughout the Union, are urged, by every consideration which can move the humane, the patriotic, and the religious, to redouble their exertions—to give themselves with invigorated hopes, resolution, and energy, to the great enterprise in which they have embarked,—an enterprise to which Heaven has been propitious,—which has been conducted to a height of promise unlooked for, at this period, by its most sanguine advocates, and which can hardly fail, if wisely and faithfully prosecuted, soon to command the aid of the States and the Nation.

The Nation is indeed beginning to awake in this cause. A State Society has just been formed in Ohio, under auspices the most cheering, and numerous Auxiliary Associations are springing up in the Western Country. The citizens of Maryland appear almost unanimously to give it their sanction. A strong and growing interest in its success is felt both in Virginia and North Carolina. In nearly every State of the Union has our project found powerful and active defenders. As their numbers increase, so also we trust, will their exertions.

We have every reason then to be animated in our holy work. We will continue our appeals to the humane, the candid, the reflecting, and the religious. We will invoke the assistance of the press, and the efforts of the Ministry. Acting without disguise, we invite investigation. Aiming at the accomplishment of an immense good for our Country and for Africa, we desire to effect it only, by means unquestionably virtuous, approved by the Constitution of the Land, and sanctified by the spirit of our Religion. We believe our plans adapted to meet the views of the liberal and sober minded in every section of the Union. We have assumed ground upon which the citizens of the South and the North may associate themselves for a strictly national as well as philanthropic purpose.—This we regard as the peculiar recommendation of our scheme. In its execution, we desire that all feelings may be sup-

pressed but those which we ought to cherish as members of a great Republic, the interests of which are undivided, and will, we hope, be ever seen identified with the justice and freedom of her institutions, and the magnanimity of her deeds.

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### Missions to Africa.

We are happy to learn that the Episcopal Foreign Missionary Society in Philadelphia, have determined to send a Missionary to Liberia, and that they have adequate funds in their possession, which have been contributed especially for this object. We trust they will not remain long unapplied. The subsequent article from the *Church Register*, will show the vast importance of affording a suitable education to such young men of colour as may be disposed to devote themselves to the Christian Ministry in Africa.

*Missionaries to Africa.*—At a late meeting of the Executive Committee of the General Missionary Society, Bishop White, the President, laid before the Committee the following letter, a copy of which has also been received by the late Secretary of the Society. The letter was referred to a sub-committee, which had at the same time under consideration the application of a coloured individual to be sent to Liberia as a Missionary. This committee, anxious that the wishes of their brethren in England may be promptly and efficiently met, are induced to publish the letter at length, that the attention of the members, and more particularly of the Clergy of our Church, may be drawn to the pious object. It may be proper to state, that those only can enter upon this mission with a well founded prospect of persevering in usefulness, whose constitutions are adapted measurably to the climate, by residence in the low lands of the Southern States. Information of any suitable individuals, is earnestly solicited, and may be communicated to the Rev. George Weller, Secretary of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, Philadelphia.

JACKSON KEMPFR, C. C.

Jan. 22d, 1827.

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,

*London, Oct. 25, 1826.*

MY DEAR SIR: The Committee of the Church Missionary Society having lost many valuable lives in Africa, have turned their attention to a supply of teachers better fitted than Europeans to encounter the insalubrity of its climate. They have been strongly recommended to endeavour to procure persons of colour for this service; and have been led to suppose that there may be many such in America, who have the requisite piety, talent, and knowledge to fit them for such an office.

Their duty would be the religious instruction of the liberated Africans congregated in Sierra Leone, from all parts of Africa. For this purpose, the person to be employed, must be well acquainted with the English language, and able to read, write, and speak it correctly. They must also possess a good knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and cordially approve of the Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, and be willing to conform to them in their whole conduct. But the most important qualification for this service is, intelligent, decided, and matured piety, with a sound judgment, and a heart devoted to God, clearly holding the doctrines peculiar to the Gospel, and longing to make them known as widely as possible.

We shall be much obliged, if you will inform us whether there be in your knowledge any persons of this description, who would be willing to devote themselves wholly to labour in Africa to diffuse the Gospel.

It might not probably be difficult for such persons to obtain ordination from the Bishop of the sister Church in America, before they left America.

Such persons should pledge themselves to submit to the directions of the Society, as to the stations in which they may labour, and their general conduct.

The remuneration of their services, would be sufficient for their comfortable support; but, on this point, and any other connected with the design, we shall be glad to have your full and free sentiments.

I am, Dear Sir, faithfully yours,

EDWARD BICKERSTETH,

*Sec. C. M. Society.*

Rt. Rev. BISHOP WHITE, &c. &c. &c.

**Sierra Leone in 1825.**

[FROM THE NINETEENTH REPORT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION.]

Sierra Leone may be considered with reference both to its internal condition, and to its effects upon the neighbouring natives.

Its internal prosperity will of course depend on its healthiness; on the progress made in the settlement of the liberated Negroes, and in inducing them to adopt the restraints and habits of civilization; on the state of schools and religion; and on the successful prosecution of agriculture and commerce.

The mortality of 1823 at Sierra Leone, though of a most distressing nature, has been much exaggerated. The fever which prevailed did not attack a Black or Coloured person; but of a White population of 110, the deaths were 25. The accounts, during the last year, represent the Colony as being very healthy. Serious injury, however, arises to its interests from the occasional prevalence of severe sickness; and in no respect more, than by the temporary interruption to which the advancement of education and religious instruction has been exposed, in consequence of the death of their principal instructors, among whom the mortality was unusually great. The effect of these unexpected losses was, that for a considerable period both properly qualified schoolmasters and also chaplains had been wanting. But the Church Missionary Society, which has now taken off the hands of the Government the burden of supplying to the Colony the means of religious instruction, has been making great efforts to supply the requisite number of teachers; and their zeal, and that of their missionaries, has only been rendered more remarkable and praiseworthy, by the difficulties with which they had to contend.

The regular attendance on public worship consists of nearly the whole population of the Colony, and the schools are attended by the whole of the young, and even by not a few of the adults; many of whom, however, think themselves too old to learn, or object, after the labour of the day, to spending an hour or two in school. The missionaries who are engaged in the work of instruction occasionally, lament the slow progress by which the human character, when once degraded, can be raised up to take its proper place in society. Yet this rate, is usually so very gradual, even under the most favourable circumstances, that it is impor-

tant, with a view to prevent unreasonable expectations and consequent disappointment, that the fact should be thoroughly understood and acknowledged. The means, however, are in active operation, which alone are proper and competent for promoting the great work of civilization.

Sierra Leone contains about 18,000 inhabitants; of whom, about 12,000 consist entirely of liberated Africans, who for the most part occupy the parishes in the mountains: and nothing can be more gratifying than to know, that the almost impenetrable woods which were the haunts but lately of wild beasts, have been replaced by villages with comfortable habitations, and surrounded by tracts of ground under cultivation, and containing school-houses for both sexes. In one of these, it is reported that, out of 103 children, 64 can read the Scriptures; in others, that out of 1,079 scholars, there are 710\* persons who can read, and so on in different proportions. The churches erected among them are said to have crowded congregations; one in Regent's Town usually assembling a congregation of from 1,200 to 2,000 souls.

The Missionaries have already more than they can adequately perform in their proper department. They have the superintendence of those schools, where the liberated slaves, coming from different countries and speaking different languages, may, upon their release, make the first beginning towards becoming really members of the same community, by acquiring a knowledge of English as a common tongue. The Church Missionary Society has undertaken the further task of seeking to fix the African language, and prepare elementary books (which has already been done for the Susoos and the Bulloms) with the view of training native teachers, as the most efficient instruments for extending the Christian Religion among the native tribes.

In the Sherbro country, two private individuals have collected boys from various places on that part of the coast, and are giving them the rudiments of English education.

The timber trade, in which the natives in the river Sierra Leone have engaged (with an alacrity and perseverance which shew that their industry only wants an object and adequate security to develop itself,) in 1823 furnished 15,000 loads for the British market, and, in the last year, a considerably larger supply. The freight alone on the shipments of last year, would probably

amount to £ 100,000. The invoice value of the cargoes imported into the Colony in 1823 was £ 121,442 18s. 11d.; the duty paid on them was £ 8,483 2s. 11d. The exports consisted of ship-building timber, camwood, palm oil, elephants' teeth, gold dust, gum copal, bees-wax, rice, and Malaguetta pepper. The gum trade has been increasing on the Gambia; and the value of the different articles independent of gum, as hides, bees-wax, gold, ivory, and timber, exported from the Gambia during the year, is stated at £ 125,000.

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### **Emigration to Liberia.**

The Brig Doris will sail immediately for the African Colony, with from eighty to ninety passengers. Ten of these are from Baltimore, the rest from Virginia and North Carolina. The Society of Friends in North Carolina, have generously contributed eight hundred dollars towards this expedition, and about half the emigrants are of the free coloured people who have been under their special guardianship and protection. The whole number who now embark are represented as industrious and promising; and individuals among them are prepared to be eminently useful in Liberia. One has been long respected as a teacher of his own class in Baltimore, and it is expected will engage in the same employment in the Colony. Many others in Baltimore and elsewhere, are anxious to take their departure, and we trust, that our friends will co-operate with us, in obtaining the funds to fit out a much larger expedition early in the approaching summer, which, according to the decided opinion of the Colonial Agent, will be found the best time for an arrival in Africa.

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### **Opinion of the Legislature of Kentucky.**

We have seen nothing more gratifying than the following Resolutions. May the Almighty inspire every Legislature of our Union with the same patriotic and magnanimous sentiments.

IN SENATE, JAN. 16.

Mr. Carneal, from the select committee to whom was referred

the memorial of the Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of colour on the coast of Africa, submitted a report, concluding with the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

*“Resolved by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, That they view with deep and friendly interest, the exertions of the American Colonization Society, in establishing an Asylum on the coast of Africa, for the free people of colour of the United States: and that the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this state, be, and they are hereby requested, to use their efforts to facilitate the removal of such free persons of colour as may desire to emigrate from the United States to the Colony of Africa, and to insure to them the protection and patronage of the General Government; so far as shall be deemed consistent with the safety and interest of the United States.*

*“Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolution to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.”*

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## Manumissions.

Mr. William Fletcher, of Perquimans, N. C. was lost in the schooner Perquimans at sea, recently. His will has just been opened, which provides that his slaves, 12 in number, shall, after the ensuing year, be emancipated; during which time they are to be hired out, for the purpose of raising funds to defray the expenses of sending them to Hayti or Liberia, which ever they may choose.

Mr. Funston, of Frederick county, Virginia, by his last will and testament, requests, that ten of his slaves shall be liberated, with the special desire that they may be located in the American Colony in Africa. He also appropriates the sum of one thousand dollars for their comfortable establishment there.

These, and numerous other instances which are occurring almost daily, show the immense importance of the African Colony,



regarded as an asylum for such slaves as humane masters may be disposed to liberate, and how numerous will be the instances of emancipation, provided it shall be connected with colonization in Liberia.

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## Masonic Charity.

We have been gratified by a perusal of the Report of the Committee of the Winder Lodge, No. 77 (Baltimore,) to which was assigned the duty of communicating with Lodges throughout the State of Maryland and elsewhere, on the subject of contributing to the *American Colonization Society*. It appears that the circular letter of the Committee has been widely circulated, and "the different Lodges, as far as known to the Committee, have, without a single exception, joined in its views; and where money could not be given, sent prayers and good wishes, to aid the great scheme of African Colonization on the principles of masonic benevolence. Mount Moriah Lodge of Hagerstown, appointed a Committee of its most distinguished members, which, in an able and lucid view of the subject, concurred with the Winder Lodge, and made a similar donation (\$ 20.) The Lodge at Princess Ann, without hesitation, gave the same sum, and sent a copy of the Resolution making the donation. The Lodge at Georgetown, D. C. like Cumberland Lodge, could only send its good wishes, and its concurrence in the plan. Cassia Lodge, in Baltimore, gave thirty dollars. A distant Lodge in Pennsylvania, and another in Maine, have also generously contributed to the same object." The Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, possessing a fund of fifty thousand dollars, have the subject under consideration, and it is hoped may appropriate liberally in its behalf. The concluding passage of the Report of the Committee, we publish with great pleasure:

"But this is not all—the humble effort of Winder Lodge has moved more important councils than those which are usually assembled under the eye of the Master; and so far as approbation is reward, each member of the Lodge is paid by the unanimous vote of thanks which was passed to the masons, on motion of the Grand Chaplain of the District of Columbia, at the late anniversary meeting of the American Colonization Society. When the motion was made, it was seconded by a mason from New England,\* who appeared there as speaking the sentiments of the fraternity in that part of the Union. He stated, that he and those around him had, at first, doubted the propriety of making the appropriation, which Winder Lodge had done, to the novel

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\* Mr. Knapp, P. D. G. H. P.

purpose proposed. Doubt led to investigation, and the importance of the subject made this investigation severe. It resulted in a complete conviction of the propriety of the measure, and the brother from New England did honour both to himself and to the order, by the eloquence with which, before an audience consisting of the members of both houses of Congress, and the representatives of nations at Washington, he advocated the plan first proposed in this Lodge, and supported the principles here first asserted.

If an air of pride pervades the report of the Committee, and any should be inclined to smile at the apparent arrogance of the assumptions here made, let it be remembered, that on our long list of principles we recognize neither pride nor arrogance, and that, therefore, to suppose them, would be uncharitable and unjust. The warm feelings of satisfaction must at times express themselves, even though they break through that frigid restraint which the fear of egotism imposes; and with the expression of satisfaction at having projected a great plan of benevolence none surely can find fault."

### • Memorial to Congress.

The Memorial of the American Colonization Society to the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, has been referred to a select committee of seven members, and with the last Annual Report of the Society has been printed. After considerable debate, the same Memorial has been laid on the table in the Senate, and we entertain the strongest hopes of ultimate success in our application to the National Government.

### *Contributions to the American Colonization Society omitted in former Repositories.*

Auxiliary Society of Lynchburg, March, 1826,	\$ 15 00
Liberian Society of young ladies at Mrs. Garnett's school, Virginia,	
April 3d, 1826,	30 00
Collections by Rev. R. R. Gurley, in the northern cities, omitted in	
Repository for December, 1826,	12 00
Miss Ann G. Gibson, of Culpepper co. Va. per W. F. Gray, Esq.	10 00
Rev. Doct. Milner, of New-York, per Mr. Kennedy,	20 00
Collections in Rev. M. Pomeroy's church, Bangor, Maine, per Mr.	
Daniel Pike,	36 55

Carried forward, \$ 123 55

	<i>Brought forward,</i>	\$ 123 55
Charles Dresser, Milwood, Va.	- - - - -	5 00
Doctor N. Jewett, Washington,	- - - - -	50
D. Wolf, Bristol, R. I.	- - - - -	1 00
Collections in Congregational church, Hudson, Portage co. Ohio,		
per Rev. Wm. Humford,	- - - - -	20 00
The Society of Friends, N. C. per Nathan Mendenhall,	-	500 00
Donations of individuals about Union Town, Pa. per D. Zollickoff,		20 00
David Hale, Esq. of Boston, per Jennings and Thomas of Philadel-		
phia, for collections,	- - - - -	290 00
Repository,	- - - - -	60 80
Miss Christian and Miss Judith Blackburn of Charlestown, Va. pro-		
ceeds of a missionary box,	- - - - -	10 00
Mrs. Eliza Blackburn, proceeds of do.	- - - - -	5 00
Miss Judith Blackburn, additional,	- - - - -	1 00
Proceeds of work done by the Young Ladies' Sunday School		
Teachers' Fund, Frederick co. Md. per P. G. Thomas, Esq.		10 00
John T. Norton, Esq. of Albany, New-York,	- - - - -	50 00
Thomas P. Wilson, Esq. of Montgomery co. Maryland,	-	10 00
Mr. Paine, in April, 1826,	- - - - -	60 00

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\$1,166 85

*Contributions from January 5th to February 3d,  
1827, inclusive.*

A friend in Alexandria,	- - - - -	5 00
Auxiliary Society of Winchester, Va. per O. Waite, Esq.	-	49 74
do. Augusta, Va. per J. Cowan, Esq.	-	60 00
do. Rockbridge, Va. per J. F. Carnthers, Esq.	-	50 00
do. Richmond and Manchester, Va. per B. Brand,		
Esq. treasurer,	- - - - -	120 00
John Croes, Esq. a yearly subscription,	- - - - -	5 00
A Gentleman,	- - - - -	1 00
Collections in Presbyterian Church, St. Clairsville, Ohio, per Hon.		
B. S. Ruggles,	- - - - -	13 00
Rev. Mr. Harrison,	- - - - -	2 00
Mrs. Maynadier, of Annapolis,	- - - - -	5 00
John Patterson, Esq. of Baltimore, per J. C. Herbert, Esq.	-	100 00
Mary Mendenhall, Treasurer of the society of women Friends in the		
neighbourhood of James Town, N. C.	- - - - -	50 00
Repository,	- - - - -	31 00

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\$1,658 59

*Donations received by the Rev. Myron Tracy, and included  
in the amount remitted by Mr. Hale, of Boston.*

Contributions of Newbury, Vermont,	-	-	-	-	\$ 7 13
do. Bradford, do.	-	-	-	-	3 51
do. Oxford, N. H., 1st Con. Soc.	-	-	-	-	5 00
do. do. do. 2d do.	-	-	-	-	8 61
Individuals of Sharon, Vt.	-	-	-	-	1 92
Contributions of Weathersfield, Vt.	-	-	-	-	5 02
do. Lyme, N. H.	-	-	-	-	10 21
do. Hartford, Vermont, N. P.	-	-	-	-	11 85
Individuals of Westborough, Mass.	-	-	-	-	55 21
Contributions of Brookfield, Mass. S. P.	-	-	-	-	7 15
do. Mon. Con. Western, Mass.	-	-	-	-	3 93
do. North Brookfield, Mass.	-	-	-	-	13 00
Individuals, W. P. Brookfield, Mass.	-	-	-	-	10 26
do. Oakham, Mass.	-	-	-	-	12 26
Contributions of New Braintree, Mass.	-	-	-	-	15 17
Individuals of Ware Factory Village, Mass.	-	-	-	-	38 52
Contributions of Rev. Mr. Going's society, Worcester, Mass.	-	-	-	-	12 00
do. Rev. Dr. Bancroft's do. do. do.	-	-	-	-	27 72
do. Rev. Mr. Hoadley's do. do. do.	-	-	-	-	15 00
do. Southborough, Mass.	-	-	-	-	4 22
do. Leicester, Mass.	-	-	-	-	39 50
do. Paxton, do.	-	-	-	-	15 57
do. Holden, do.	-	-	-	-	41 64
do. Rutland, do.	-	-	-	-	22 06
do. Templeton, do.	-	-	-	-	36 61
do. Philipston, do.	-	-	-	-	26 50
do. Hardwick, do.	-	-	-	-	14 20
do. Barree, do.	-	-	-	-	9 71
do. Millbury, do.	-	-	-	-	25 65
Donation of a female, do.	-	-	-	-	20 00
Contributions of Mendon, do.	-	-	-	-	17 44
do. Ward, do. 4th July,	-	-	-	-	8 62
do. Grafton, do. 4th July,	-	-	-	-	25 24
Individuals of Princeton, do.	-	-	-	-	31 27
do. Hubbardston, do.	-	-	-	-	13 42
A friend of Uxbridge, do.	-	-	-	-	3 00
S. Denny, Oakham, do.	-	-	-	-	1 00
F. Leavitt, Esq. Hartford, Vt.	-	-	-	-	1 00
Individuals of Northborough, do. \$ 20 of which, from Mr. Asaph Rice, to be appropriated to the transportation of one who shall be liberated from slavery for that purpose,	-	-	-	-	102 46

\$ 712 37

THE  
**AFRICAN REPOSITORY,**  
AND  
**COLONIAL JOURNAL.**

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VOL. II.]

FEBRUARY, 1827.

[NO. XII.]

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**Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.**

[PROCEEDINGS CONTINUED FROM PAGE 345.]

Mr. MERCER submitted the following preamble and resolutions:

“Whereas, to the affliction of the Christian world, the African Slave Trade, notwithstanding all the efforts, past and present, for its suppression, still exists and is conducted with aggravated cruelty, by the resources of one continent, to the dishonour of another, and to an extent little short of the desolation of a third; and it is now apparent, that this guilty traffic must continue without abatement, so long as there remains a flag to cover it from detection, a demand for its victims, and the African coast is open to its incursions: And whereas, its utter abolition, as essential to the security of African labour, and a safeguard of African Colonization, was early avowed to be one of the objects of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States; and has been, at all times since, steadily prosecuted, by its friends in the councils of the Union:

*Be it therefore resolved,* That a Committee be appointed to prepare, and to cause to be translated into the several languages of most current use, in Europe and America, a memorial to the Sovereign authority of every maritime nation on both Continents, earnestly soliciting the denunciation of the Slave Trade as piracy.

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*And be it further resolved*, That the memorials having been approved and attested, by the signature of the President of the Society, shall be forwarded, by his advice, to their respective destinations.

In introducing his resolution, Mr. Mercer said that, admonished by the lateness of the hour, to which the present meeting had been protracted, he should consume, but a few minutes, in recommending to the Society the resolution which he had the honour to submit. What he should say, would be prompted, rather by the desire to vindicate from seeming presumption, the means which the resolution devised for the attainment of its object, than the end itself, which had already received the countenance of the National Legislature, in an act, which denounced the African slave trade to be piracy—An example which had been promptly followed in Europe, by the nation most distinguished, in that quarter of the globe, for her zealous and persevering, though hitherto unavailing efforts to abolish this criminal traffic. It was known, that at the time when he had the honour of first calling the attention of the House of Representatives, to the remedy which the resolution proposes, for an evil, so obstinate and inveterate, as to have baffled all others, the entire adjudications of those complex courts of mixed commission established at so much international labour, by Great Britain, amounted to but nine in number: and at the seat of that tribunal, which overlooked the greatest mart, for slaves in the West Indies, the Havana, there had not then been a single condemnation.

The subsequent progress of these tribunals, he had not the means of tracing, but it was notorious, that since the period to which he had referred, the trade, in question, had been extended with circumstances of aggravated cruelty and atrocity. Of both its extent and horror, the African Institution afforded conclusive and mournful evidence. It presented a detailed list of the names of two hundred and eighteen vessels believed to be engaged in its prosecution in the year 1824, of which, sixty-eight were Spanish, sixty-three Brazilian, thirty-nine French, twenty Portuguese, two Dutch, one Swedish, and one, to the dishonour of our own flag, American. Twenty-four others have their names enrolled in this dark catalogue, without a designation of their origin. How many others escaped, in that year, the vigilance of enquiry and pursuit, must be the subject of conjecture, from the number known and designated. But if each of those whose existence, employment, and names are ascertained and reported, diligently prosecuted its gainful commerce, not fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand victims swelled the profits of their cupidity. Of these victims, probably not fewer than twenty thousand found a watery grave in the middle passage, or perished, under the diseases incident to its loathsome imprisonment, after their arrival at their destined market. More than twenty thousand reached, in that year, the single port of Rio Janeiro, in the dominions of his Imperial Majesty of Brazil, whose minister, on his recognition in this capital, as the representative of an independent nation, was instructed to inform our own Government, that his master

concurred in the views of the United States, respecting the slave trade, and would adopt the earliest practicable means for its abolition!

It is, therefore, more manifest than ever, that the mere exchange of the right of search, and a system of mixed tribunals, inefficient at all times, and subject to the derangements of war between their common sovereigns, are incompetent, taken separately, or together, to the end of greatly diminishing, much less of totally abolishing this execrable commerce.

It is only by making it the object of universal detection and punishment wherever its perpetrators can be arrested, by stamping upon it the seal of indelible infamy, and assuring its certain and heavy chastisement; by making it piracy by the consent of all nations, and investing it with all the consequences which the established law and usage of nations attach to this crime, that it can be hunted off the globe as other piracies are.

Both wit and argument indeed, have been pointed against this denomination of an offence, which was not only tolerated, but encouraged, at one period of modern Europe, by all maritime nations. But, at no very remote age war was every where construed to confer the right to reduce its prisoners, and their posterity, to perpetual slavery, without distinction of colour. This barbarous rigour dragged the Helot to Sparta, as well as the Ethiopian to Rome. If the mild spirit of Christianity; of that religion which teaches man to "do unto others as he would have them to do unto him," has loosened the hold of successful valour upon its European captives, does not the same law loosen the bands which force has put upon the African? If robbery on the high seas, and on its desolate and barbarous shores, be piracy, without the accompaniment of murder, shall not that robbery which fastens on the person of the proprietor, and all that he holds dear in life; which so often extinguishes life itself, by pestilence and slow consuming disease, be also piracy? Such, in the early ages of Greece, from whose language we derive this word, was the chief occupation of the sea-robber, who, like the modern Turk, infested the shores of the Mediterranean, to make captive, and consign to slavery, the peaceful labourers of its coasts and islands. The Mahometan corsair long practised, and still keeps up this warfare even in Europe; and thus, still makes, as formerly, occasional reprisals on her Southern border, for those cruel injuries which the European Christian trader inflicts on Western Africa. If the one deserve to be regarded as a pirate, does not the other equally so. If there be any inequality in their guilt, it is that the one does not trespass against the religion which his prophet taught him to propagate, not by love, but by the sword. Not so, the Christian, whose gospel is peace, gentleness, and mercy! But the concurrent statutes of Great Britain and America, have fixed upon this crime against humanity, its true denomination. It is now piracy, as regards the operation of the laws of each nation, upon its own subjects or citizens. In the English tongue, it is every where *piracy*. The object of the resolution is to extend this denomination of this offence, to the statutes and languages of all civilized maritime powers; that, incorporated in the common law of nations, it may meet with the punishment which it now escapes, under

cover of the dishonoured flags of so many States, who either connive at its practice, or withhold the only certain means of its detection and punishment.

The resolution of the House of Representatives, from which, the late negotiation between the United States and Great Britain on this subject sprung, arose from the desire of the popular branch of the National Legislature, to establish, by international agreement, that denomination of this offence, which the cotemporary legislation of Congress had so justly affixed to it. The abortive issue of that negotiation, and the subsequent rejection of a similar treaty with the Republic of Colombia, arising from an unfortunate disagreement between the Senate and the Executive, leave no hope of success, for the object of the proposed resolution, through the agency of that branch of our Government charged with our foreign relations. It is, therefore, only by a direct appeal to the humanity of other States, through the only channels open to the American Colonization Society, that the resolution which I have just read, said Mr. M., proposes to renew the suspended efforts of the United States, to extend the *principle* of their criminal code, to other nations, until, by universal acquiescence, it shall become the foundation of that universal law which all the tribunals of the civilized world are authorized to enforce. The security of the American Colony, the interesting report just read, proves to be, in some degree, dependent on the success of these efforts; and not its security only, but the fruition of any rational hope that can be indulged, of promoting African civilization, which obviously depends on the security of African labour.

While, from these considerations, the resolution submitted to the Society, it is hoped, will derive an apology for its mover, it becomes his duty to shew that its adoption may promote the end which it proposes. And here, it might seem to argue some presumption, to hope for success from the appeal of a private Society, to that humanity, which has been invoked, in vain, by the zealous efforts of the most powerful maritime State of the world; if, indeed, since the Congress of Vienna denounced this traffic, without concurring; however in any measure for its immediate abolition, there had not been a favourable change in the circumstances of two of those States, who influenced the deliberations of that Congress; and if, the very absence of any political power in the American Society, to enforce its requests, did not remove one obstacle, at least, to their success, in the pride of those to whom they are addressed.

Portugal, now separated from Brazil, and Spain, severed from her Colonies on the American Continent, have scarcely a remaining interest opposed to the object of the resolution; and all the independent States of America, with the solitary exception of Brazil, have, by laws of greater or less severity, prohibited the African Slave Trade.

The singular inconsistency of France, in denouncing, and at the same time permitting this traffic to pass unpunished, before her eyes, is in part, to be explained, by her jealousy of her ancient rival, whose motives for a stipulated exchange of the right of search, she suspects. Having so recently witness-



ed a British army in her capital, she revolts at every seeming concession to British power. Even in France, however, whose abused flag covers so large a share of this iniquitous traffic, a public sentiment against it has arisen, and is rapidly spreading, which must, ere long, reach the heart of her legislative councils, and of her Sovereign. A gallant nation cannot patiently, see its standard used to protect the vilest criminals from merited punishment, and will more readily listen to the testimony of this revolting abuse of its honour, through the memorial of a humane Society, than the diplomatic correspondence of her powerful and ancient rival.

Mr. Mercer concluded, by an apology for having so far exceeded the compass to which, when he rose, he had designed to limit his remarks.

The following Committee was then appointed to carry its object into effect, viz. Gen. MERCER, Gen. JONES, and Dr. LAURIE.

On motion of Mr. SAMUEL BAYARD, Esq. of New-Jersey,

*Resolved*, That this Society, deeply impressed with the loss its cause has sustained by the deaths of the Rev. HORACE SESSIONS, the Rev. CALVIN HOLTON, and Mr. CHARLES L. FORCE, will cherish, with gratitude and affection, the memory of these devoted friends to Africa.

On motion of the Rev. J. N. CAMPBELL,

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be presented to RICHARD SMITH, Esq. Treasurer, for the very important services which he has long and gratuitously rendered to this Institution.

On motion of Doctor LAURIE, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Hon. RICHARD RUSH, for the very able manner in which he has presided during the present meeting.

A Committee was then appointed consisting of F. S. KEY, Esq. and Gen. W. JONES, who nominated the officers of the Society, for the ensuing year.

The meeting then adjourned.

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## Description of Bornou.

*From Denham and Clapperton's Narrative.*

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 260.)

They seldom take more than from two or three wives at a time, even the rich, and divorce them as often as they please, by paying their dower. The poorer class are contented with one. The women are particularly cleanly, but not good-looking: they have

large mouths, very thick lips, and high foreheads. Their manner of dressing the hair is also less becoming than that of any other Negro nation I have seen: it is brought over the top of the head in three thick rolls; one large one in the centre, and two smaller on each side, just over the ears, joining in front on the forehead in a point, and plaistered thickly with indigo and bees' wax. Behind the point it is wiry, very finely plaited, and turned up like a drake's tail. The *Scarins*, or tattoos, which are common to all Negro nations in these latitudes, and by which their country is instantly known, are here particularly unbecoming. The Bornouese have twenty cuts or lines on each side of the face, which are drawn from the corners of the mouth, towards the angles of the lower jaw and the cheek-bone; and it is quite distressing to witness the torture the poor little children undergo who are thus marked, enduring, not only the heat, but the attacks of millions of flies. They have also one cut on the forehead in the centre, six on each arm, six on each leg and thigh, four on each breast, and nine on each side, just above the hips. They are, however, the most humble of females, never approaching their husbands except on their knees, or speaking to any of the male sex, otherwise than with the head and face covered, and kneeling. Previous to marriage, there appears to be more jealousy than after.

Adultery is not common: the punishment is very severe, if caught in the fact; and secured on the spot; and this is the only evidence on which conviction is granted. The guilty couple are bound hand and foot, cast on the ground, and their brains dashed out by the club of the injured husband and his male relations.

Girls rarely marry until they are fourteen or fifteen; often not so young. The age of puberty does not arrive here at so early a period as in Barbary; females there not unfrequently becoming mothers at the age of twelve, and even eleven. In Bornou, such a circumstance is unknown: for a woman to have twins is extremely rare; and to make them believe that more were ever brought into the world at one time, in any country, would be difficult.

The domestic animals are dogs, sheep, goats, cows, and herds of oxen, beyond all calculation. The Shouaas on the banks of the Tchad have probably 20,000, near their different villages; while the shores of the great river Shary could furnish double

that number. They also breed multitudes of horses, with which they furnish the Soudan market, where this animal is very inferior.

The domestic fowl is common, and is the cheapest animal food that can be purchased: a dollar will purchase forty. They are small, but well flavoured.

The bees are so numerous, as in some places to obstruct the passage of travellers. The honey is but partially collected. That buzzing noisy insect, the locust, is also a frequent visiter. Clouds of them appear in the air; and the natives, by screams and various noises, endeavour to prevent their descending to the earth. In the district where they pitch, every particle of vegetation is quickly devoured. The natives eat them with avidity, both roasted and boiled, and formed into balls as a paste.

The game is abundant, and consists of antelopes, gazelles, hares, an animal about the size of a red deer, with annulated horns, called *koorigum*, partridges very large, small grouse, wild ducks, geese, snipes, and the ostrich, the flesh of which is much esteemed. Pelicans, spoonbills, the Balearic crane in great numbers, with a variety of other large birds of the crane species, are also found in the marshes. The woods abound with the Guinea fowl.

The wild animals are, the lion, which in the wet season approaches to the walls of the towns, panthers, and a species of tiger-cat, are in great numbers in the neighbourhood of Mandara, the leopard, the hyena, the jackal, the civet-cat, the fox, hosts of monkeys, black, grey, and brown, and the elephant, the latter so numerous as to be seen near the Tchad in herds of from fifty to four hundred. This noble animal they hunt, and kill for the sake of his flesh, as well as the ivory of his tusk. The buffalo, the flesh of which is a delicacy, has a high game flavour. The crocodile and the hippopotamus are also numerous; and the flesh of both is eaten. That of the crocodile is extremely fine: it has a green firm fat, resembling the turtle, and the callipee has the colour, firmness, and flavour of the finest veal. The giraffe is seen and killed by the buffalo hunters in the woods and marshy grounds near the Tchad. Reptiles are numerous; they consist of scorpions, centipedes, and disgusting large toads, serpents of several

kinds, and a snake said to be harmless, of the congo kind, sometimes measuring fourteen and sixteen feet in length.

The beasts of burden used by the inhabitants are the bullock and the ass. A very fine breed of the latter is found in the Mandara valleys. Strangers and chiefs, in the service of the sheikh or sultan, alone possess camels. The bullock is the bearer of all the grain and other articles to and from the markets. A small saddle of plaited rushes is laid on him, when sacks made of goat-skins, and filled with corn, are lashed on his broad and able back. A leather thong is passed through the cartilage of his nose, and serves as a bridle, while on the top of the load is mounted the owner, his wife, or his slave. Sometimes the daughter or the wife of a rich Shouaa will be mounted on her particular bullock, and precede the loaded animals; extravagantly adorned with amber, silver rings, coral, and all sorts of finery, her hair streaming with fat, a black rim of *kohol* at least an inch wide, round each of her eyes, and I may say, arrayed for conquest at the crowded market. Carpets or tobes are then spread on her clumsy palfrey: she sits *jambe deçà jambe delà*, and with considerable grace guides her animal by his nose. Notwithstanding the peacebleness of his nature, her vanity still enables her to torture him into something like caperings and curvetings.

The price of a good bullock is from three dollars to three dollars and a half.

The towns generally are large, and well built; they have walls, thirty-five and forty feet in height, and nearly twenty feet in thickness. They have four entrances, with three gates to each, made of solid planks eight or ten inches thick, and fastened together with heavy clamps of iron. The houses consist of several court-yards, between four walls, with apartments leading out of them for slaves; then a passage, and an inner court, leading to the habitations of the different wives, who have each a square space to themselves, enclosed by walls, and a handsome thatched hut. From thence also you ascend a wide stair-case of five or six steps, leading to the apartments of the owner, which consist of two buildings like towers or turrets, with a terrace of communication between them, looking into the street, with a castellated window. The walls are made of reddish clay, as smooth as stucco, and the roofs most tastefully arched on the inside with

branches, and thatched on the out with a grass known in Barbary by the name of *lidthur*. The horns of the gazelle and antelope serve as a substitute for nails or pegs. These are fixed in different parts of the walls, and on them hang the quivers, bows, spears, and shields of the chief. A man of consequence will sometimes have four of these terraces and eight turrets, forming the faces of his mansion or domain, with all the apartments of his women, within the space below. Not only those *en activité* (as the French would say,) but those on the superannuated list, are allowed habitations. Horses and other animals are usually allowed an enclosure near one of the court-yards forming the entrance. Dwellings, however, of this description are not common.

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[COMMUNICATION.]

### South-western Coast of Africa.

In the beginning of the 15th century, the attention of modern Europe was, for the first time, turned towards Africa. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, the English, successively explored and took possession of various parts of the coast. Their object was not to convert or civilize Africa; they were in pursuit of the most detestable traffic that has ever disgraced and afflicted the human race. All other commodities but the one they traded in, are gradually consumed, and the commerce that supplies them forgotten; but the products of this are a blasting "boundless upas," that can never be eradicated. In the records of their voyages and travels, we look in vain for information of the country, and we only find it thinly scattered through volumes of crimes.

The account, therefore, which we are about to give, of the Western Coast of Africa, will necessarily be very incomplete. It may, however, have the effect, for which we intend it, of calling the attention of our readers and the public to that interesting region of the earth, and vindicating the American Colonization Society, in their attempt to people it with civilized and christian Africans.

When the Europeans arrived on the Western Coast, though the wonders which had intimidated them had disappeared, there was still left sufficient novelty in the people, the products and

features of the country. The inhabitants, they found, were black and totally uncivilized. But they were mild and cheerful in their disposition, and hospitable in their manners. Some of them lived in villages, others wandered about without fixed habitations. Their houses or huts were built of reeds and mud; and their only manufactures were mats made of osiers, charms, or greegrees,\* and a sort of cloth from the bark of trees. The forms of government under which they lived, were the simplest imaginable: the king or queen was absolute, and all the rest were slaves. This, at least, was the case in the larger tribes or nations; into which they were innumerable subdivided. But some of these little communities did not exceed a hundred citizens; and the sovereign power, in them and many of the others, resembled the dominion of a father in his family. It was restrained, besides, by a rough species of republican government; and no man or woman could be condemned, but upon sentence by a "palaver," or public assembly of the nation. Among a people so simple and with so few laws, and whose customs were generally but the impulse of natural equity, crimes were few, and punishment unfrequent. Death was never inflicted but for murder. For other offences, fines were imposed, or the criminal sold into slavery. There were but two classes of society, the chiefs and the people. Hereditary rank was almost unknown; and honour was attached to office, not to persons. The religion which they professed, (if any thing so incoherent, preposterous and barbarous can be called religion,) was, in some tribes, idolatry, in others, idolatry with a slight intermixture of Mahometan observances. They believed in the active and habitual interference of the devil in the affairs of men; placed implicit reliance on their wooden idols, or "fetiches," and their charms, or "greegrees," which they carried continually about them; attributed to these charms and idols various and varying degrees and kinds of power; and were almost entirely under the controul of sorcerers and wizards. Indeed, superstition was their government. They seemed to be actuated by a superior sort of instinct only. Like all other sava-

\* The "greegrees," or as it is sometimes written "grisgris," are generally composed of two small and nearly circular pieces of leather, sowed together, and containing between them the name of God, written in Arabic, on parchment.

ges, they displayed considerable talents, however, for begging, and when that failed, for stealing.

As you advance into the interior, you meet with more regular and consolidated governments, more extensive and powerful states, enjoying a comparative civilization. At first the Europeans saw and traded only with those they found living near the coast; but when they penetrated up the rivers, and the report of their arrival spread into the interior of the country, large bands of natives, from a greater distance, came down to barter with them. They brought gold, ostrich feathers, ambergris and precious gems, which they exchanged for toys, garments, liquors, and tobacco. Another article of commerce which they offered, or were induced to offer, were slaves. If the Portuguese and Dutch had listened to humanity and conscience, and the precepts of that Bible which they affected to be anxious to extend, they would have discouraged this traffic at once, and might perhaps have prevented it. But they were actuated only by an unprincipled thirst of gain. America, which had recently been discovered, was in want of cultivators; its white inhabitants had not yet sufficiently increased, or were too indolent to work: to procure labourers, these poor savages must be encouraged in ferocious habits. It was thus reserved for civilized men and christians, to promote the slave-trade: and the Portuguese, who set the first example, then, still scandalize repenting Europe by perseverance in the crime.

The parts of Africa in which we are most concerned at present, and which should interest us most, are the Western and South-western Coasts; because they are the outlets and depositories of the slave-trade, and the most approved routes for penetrating into the interior. It is to them principally, that we shall confine our remarks, with now and then such reference to other parts, as may be necessary for explanation.

Along the coast (to the south of where the great desert of Sahara comes down to drink at the ocean,) and for a considerable distance into the interior, the country is level and pierced by several large and navigable rivers, and many smaller streams. The soil is rich, the products various, the climate not so unwholesome as has been represented. It is peopled by tribes of *negroes*, more or less distinct in customs, language, features and condition. As

you recede from the sea, the surface becomes more broken and elevated, till it swells at last into mountains of vast extent and height, which divide the waters of Central Africa from those that fall directly into the Atlantic to the west. In this section of the continent, all the features of African geography seem to be on a scale of grandeur, that would make it a fit residence for the greatest nations: pity it should be left to savages!

Among the hills which we have mentioned, rise the streams and navigable rivers that drain and irrigate the plain below, and wander to the ocean through prairies of the most luxuriant fertility. The Gambia is navigable for sloops 600 miles, until it is broken by the cataract of Barraconda. The Senegal is a river of equal magnitude. The Congo is much superior to either. Indeed, the vast volume of water which it rolls into the ocean, and which is felt for twenty miles at sea, justifies the belief that it has its source far beyond the mountains, or in more distant ones. Many persons have supposed that it is the mysterious Niger, discharging itself after a varying course, through the centre of the continent, many thousand miles. Whether that idea be correct or not, the Congo will undoubtedly be found to be one of the largest rivers in the world. The expectation that all doubt upon this subject would be removed by the discoveries of Denham and Clapperton, has not been realized. The long-sought Niger has eluded their search. It was our opinion that the Niger and Congo were identical, but separated by a *lake*. Such a lake in Central Africa had been heard of; the Niger had been seen far to the west of the lake, flowing eastwardly; and to us it seemed natural to suppose, that this great lake or chain of lakes must have an outlet, proportioned to themselves in size, and send their waters to the general reservoir, the ocean, along the bed of some great river, as do our Erie and Ontario. As no such stream was known to fall into the Persian gulf or Indian ocean, it was highly probable, we thought, that the majestic Congo was the one in question. The Niger, properly so called, would then, according to our hypothesis, have taken its rise on the eastern declivity of the Kong mountains, which pour the waters of the Senegal and Gambia down their western sides, and (as Park had ascertained it does) flow from west to east, until it emptied, swollen by tributary streams, into the great lake Tchad, in Central Africa. From the



eastern or south-eastern, or perhaps southern extremity of this lake, we supposed the accumulated and surplus waters to be discharged along the bed of the Congo. Thus the Niger would bear the same relation to the Congo, as the Niagara, (for instance) to the St. Lawrence. But we have been obliged to abandon our hypothesis: for it is ascertained that the Kong mountains, after a long course to the south-east, turn off towards the south, and recede into the continent, interposing themselves between the Congo and the lake; that the Shary, a river which is either the Niger or rises in the Mandara (a continuation apparently of the Kong) mountains, flows northward into the lake, from the south; and that the Tchad has no apparent outlet.

Whether the waters of the Niger, ever reach the sea, or are absorbed by the thirsty sands of Central Africa, is of no small importance to the western and south-western coast. Such a communication with the vast regions of the interior, would promote the extension of christian commerce and civilized society, and increase the power and wealth of nations inhabiting, or destined to inhabit its course, as much as the Mississippi and Missouri contributed to the peopling and cultivation of our western territory, and the rapid growth of the states that line their banks. In every other respect, the part of Africa which we are now describing, is as capable of being covered with great nations, as were the western and southern members of this confederacy. It enjoys a fertility not inferior to theirs, and affords a greater variety of valuable products. The climate too, though essentially different, is at least as salubrious. The mortality that prevailed among the first emigrants to Liberia, was owing altogether to other causes. They arrived during the worst season of the year, and remained exposed to all its inclemency, without shelter; and the matter of surprise should be, that any of them escaped destruction. A much worse result attended the early attempts to settle America. In Virginia, and even as far north as Plymouth in New England, all the settlers were repeatedly swept away by the savages and malignant diseases; and the idea of persevering in colonization was, for a considerable time, abandoned and forgotten. It began to be considered as a visionary and impracticable scheme, and the climate as utterly uncongenial to the European constitution. It is therefore neither surprising nor discouraging, that similar misfor-

tunes should have followed the first attempts to settle Africa. They are incident to all such undertakings, in every quarter of the globe. A want of experience will lead to mistakes, mistakes will lead to exposure, and exposure prove fatal. In removing from one climate to another, we are apt to forget to make corresponding changes in our habits; which is just as unreasonable as it would be, to follow the same mode of life through all the varying seasons of any climate. That of Europe is much more like the American, than either like the African. It is sometimes imagined, that because the latter is entirely different from the two former, it is therefore not so good; but this we think an erroneous conclusion, and are inclined to believe that the latter is the better climate. All that is necessary is, to conform to it, and not to live in Africa as if we were still in America or Europe. The climate is by no means so changeable as ours; and that already is a great advantage. It is divided into certain periods so regularly, that their approach is always known. There are no sudden transitions from heat to cold; unless it be among the mountains, or (by the rarefaction and condensation of the air) in the desert. There are certain seasons during which you may count upon an uninterrupted serenity of weather; and then is the time for agricultural and commercial operations. There are other seasons again, at which you must expect and provide against tempestuous and rainy weather. Is not this distribution wiser, than if you were liable at every moment to be drenched with rain, or surprised by a tornado? Upon mature reflection it will to every one appear doubtful, whether this division of the seasons is not preferable to our's. The rains set in about the middle of May or June, and continue till October. It is then that the crops are sown.

In that part of Africa in which our Colony is situated, the days are short and the nights long, because it is within the tropics. The heat is therefore not so great as in many parts of North America, which are inhabited by a hardy race of people. The long dry season is not a *drought*. It does not prevent the growth of any thing; for although it recurs each year, and is the natural course of things, the land teems with all the productions of the earth. The tropical fruits grow there in wildness and profusion. Coffee of the finest quality comes spontaneously in the woods. Rice, surpassing that of our southern states, is the common food

of the natives. Wheat, barley, and Indian corn arrive at the same perfection as with us. So do all the succulent roots that we possess, and many other useful and delicious vegetables "that we know not of." The soil is admirably adapted to indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Ivory, dye-woods, precious gems, ambergris, ostrich feathers, and the skins of wild beasts, are exported in great quantities from the coast: and, before the discovery of America, the mines of Africa supplied all Europe with gold and silver.

The climate is congenial too to its domestic animals, so necessary to civilized man. The horse, though little used by the ignorant negroes on the coast, is almost a part of the wandering Moor of the desert, is trained to sport and war by the nations of Central Africa, and attains that excellence of form and character which we call "blooded." The sheep of Africa are celebrated; and the cow is equal, in all her qualities, to her race in other continents. The patient ox, though he draws no wagons there, carries his burthens in Africa as well as here. The asses are much finer than our's, and are driven in immense herds, like the lamas of South America, loaded with bales of merchandise. Then comes the camel, the most serviceable of all the mute servants of man, to whom, for certain kinds of labour, we have nothing to compare.

Such is the south-western coast of Africa. How many hidden beauties will be found, when she is more thoroughly explored! Profusely rich in all the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, why may she not bear fruits of *human* excellence, and from having been the seat and victim of every crime, become a wide and fertile field for the cultivation of every virtue?

In its inhabitants, Africa is as various and peculiar, as in its other productions. It is peopled by many millions of human beings, differing vastly from each other in colour, forms of government, occupations and religion. Some of them are gathered into small tribes, ruled by petty chiefs; others into large and powerful nations. Unbounded liberty is enjoyed by some, and others groan in the abjectest servitude, or live beneath an easy despotism. Many tribes have no fixed residence, but wander about with their flocks in search of pasture, or their arms in search of prey: others have permanent abodes, large and commercial cities, and enjoy a comparative civilization. In colour they are not less diversified: from the deepest black, to every

brighter hue, except perhaps the ruddy fairness of an European complexion. Whiteness, when first beheld, is shocking to them, and they attribute it to disease. A charitable old negro woman, who afforded Park a meal and lodging, on the banks of the Niger, could not refrain, even in her kindness, from exclaiming: "God preserve us from the devil!" And it was a common subject of regret among the negro girls in Bornou, that Denham and Clapperton were "so white."

In Central Africa all these travellers found populous and highly cultivated countries, in which were large cities of 30,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. To these marts resort all the people of the neighbourhood, and caravans and single merchants from the most distant regions. You may there see the Negro of all varieties; from the thick lips, flat noses, receding foreheads and frizzled locks of the western coast, to the equally black but straight and prominent features, and long lank hair of the interior and the east. You see him mingling with the dusky Moor, the olive coloured Arab, and the tawney Egyptian, each in his national or fanciful costume.

"A thousand tongues prefer strange orisons on high."

The numbers of a thousand sects, blent and tintured with each other, meet in friendly converse. Paganism is the prevalent form of worship; and here and there some faint traces of christianity appear: but the predominant belief, or practise, is the religion of the Prophet. The faithful experienced no difficulty in the conversion of Africa. Its simple and docile inhabitants willingly adopted all that was inculcated, by Saracen, Jew or christian, and without abandoning their ancient rites and notions, incorporated all the new.

But the question is, whether a nation of free blacks can be established on the western coast of this great continent. The climate has been urged as an insurmountable obstacle:—so it was, in the case of America. Liberia has been desolated by sickness:—so were Plymouth and the settlements in Virginia. We are not reduced, however, to reasoning from analogy; we have facts directly applicable to our position. Colonies *have* been established and have flourished, on the coast of Africa. Sierra Leone, after many sad reverses in its infancy, is now a thriving territory, with 20,000 inhabitants. It was founded under the most unfavourable circumstances; for those who first composed it.

came from a very northern latitude,\* or from the streets of London, and were mingled with whites, without selection, the good with the demoralized. Bad habits did more for their destruction than the climate. Sierra Leone has recovered now from this capital mistake, and in prosperity and usefulness, forgets the lowness and effaces the stain of her birth.

The Portuguese too, and the French, were eminently successful in making settlements on the coast, and far up the rivers in the interior. Although the natives were uncivilized, they could scarcely be called savages, for they were a kind, hospitable and harmless people; and their visitors found it easy to obtain a foothold among them. Some of the tribes in the interior, however, were less tractable, and more warlike and ferocious. Their customs were not so simple and unprejudiced, but had a strong tincture of mahometanism. By flattery, the skilful use of superior attainments, the possession of desirable objects of traffic, by prudence and well-timed violence, the Portuguese gradually spread themselves and their establishments over an immense extent of country, for many hundred miles into the interior. Protected by their arms and reputation, missionaries preached the gospel throughout the country with wonderful success, as they relate. Miracles were wrought, and the natives came in thousands to be baptized. As long as the missionaries confined themselves to preaching and baptizing, they seem to have found the natives docile enough; but when they came to abolishing polygamy, which universally prevailed, overthrowing the idols and their temples, and deposing monarchs who would not be converted, they met with the fiercest and most determined opposition, and were compelled by a general revolt to fly for refuge to their forts. The Portuguese at length became so odious from their tyranny and vices, that they were driven, gradually, from the continent, with the assistance of their enemies in Europe: and while the ruins of their towns and military posts, a few words of their language imbedded in the native dialects, and the slave-trade, are now the only vestiges of their once flourishing and extensive dominion, they demonstrate the practicability of civilized colonies on the coast of Africa. It was not the climate that expelled the Portu-

\*Nova Scotia.\* They had been carried away from the United States during the revolutionary war.

guese; it was their fierce bigotry, their brutal persecution of a harmless race. How could the slave-trade and the gospel be preached with the self-same breath? The crucifix remains among the natives: it is one of their "fetiches!"

A singular superstition of the Portuguese, was one of the strongest incentives to discoveries and settlements. They believed that there was a christian kingdom, some where in Africa, governed by a christian king, whose name was \*Prester John. To find this nation, which they thought had been so long mislaid, and lost to the christian world, was one of the great objects of all their expeditions; and every navigator on leaving Portugal, was furnished by his sovereign with particular injunctions to look for his august cousin, Prester John. They were therefore very careful to make enquiries of the natives, wherever they went; and learning that far in the interior were the great cities of Timbuctoo and Jenne, they sent ambassadors to the emperors. Unfortunately, the particulars of these interesting journies, which in later times we have so often vainly attempted to repeat, were not recorded, or are mouldering in the jealous archives of Portugal. All that we have learnt from them is, that they knew of a great river (the Niger,) near those cities; that the inhabitants were of a lighter colour and strict Mahomedans (the Moors;) and that beyond them, they were informed, was a land (Abyssinia,) where the people professed the same religion as themselves. This relation renewed their hopes and quickened their endeavours; and they were finally gratified, after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, with a sight of Abyssinia, and finding there a few distorted features and faint traces of christianity.

On the eastern coast of Africa, and up the rivers that fall into the Persian Gulf and Mozambique channel, there are Portuguese cities of considerable size, where the language is still spoken, though corruptly. Their streets, houses and churches, give them the air of European cities. They are the great marts of the slave-trade, and oppose, for fear of interruption, the most serious obstacles to every attempt to penetrate far into the country,

- If, for the fiendish purpose of trading in human tears and flesh,

\*Prester John, i. e. Presbiter John, i. e. Priest John; for they supposed him to be a prelate as well as king;—a christian Kalif;—a sort of Pope in Central Africa.

the Portuguese could establish populous, powerful and opulent cities in that continent, why may not we effect the same, with the holiest purpose? Heaven frowned on them, it smiles on our design.

To found in Africa an empire of *christians and republicans*; to reconduct the blacks to their native land, without disturbing the order of society, the laws of property, or the rights of individuals, rapidly, but legally, ~~silently~~ gradually, to drain them off; these are the noble ends of the colonization scheme. The wise and good have been meditating all along on the facility and magnificent benevolence of the project, and have never ceased to cherish a hope in the cause's holiness. Silently and almost unobserved, the foundations of a colony have been laid; and with less assistance than was bestowed upon *this* nation in its infancy, have flourished more and given brighter promise of becoming a powerful and happy people. The colony of Liberia has now arrived at a condition, in which it requires some encouragement. The problem of its possibility and bare existence has been solved. It should now be fostered. To overlook it longer might be fatal. Not the hardiest plants can flourish under perpetual neglect. Help, easily to be afforded, will now enable it to fulfil its destinies.

We may not send exploring expeditions to the centre of the continent, to drag hidden nations to light and instruct them; but we ought to accomplish what is within our power. We may settle and civilize the Western Coast, whence culture and the Gospel may (and will,) by a gradual and surer progress, win their way, from the borders, to the very heart of the continent. Although this may be effected by individual exertions and private charity, yet why subject a scheme so fraught with usefulness to slow advances and precarious support? It should be adopted by the Nation, or by such of the States as approve it.

Our object has been to show, that Liberia is admirably situated for all the purposes in view. The soil is excellently adapted to the most productive crops, the climate is not so serious an obstacle as was supposed, the territory lies well for commerce, and admits of indefinite increase, and the surrounding tribes of nations are weak, peaceable and docile. Thus situated, the Colony will produce numerous good effects. It is a reservoir and asylum for such of our blacks as have it in their power to remove; it may

become the mart of a lucrative trade, and repay us for all its expenses; it will be a foothold of christianity and civilization; and within its influence,—the influence of its benign example, of its virtuous commerce, of its power,—the slave-trade must expire, and its perpetrators be taught “to pity others’ woe.”

### Latest from Liberia.

MONROVIA, Dec. 5th, 1828.

*To the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

GENTLEMEN:

Mr. Gurley’s communication of the 2d September, was received by the schooner ———, Capt. Chadwick, New York, on the 14th of November.—The books also arrived in good order.

The brig Tamworth, Capt. Gridler, Boston, arrived on the 27th November,—51 days from Boston, with part of a cargo laid in for Montserado, which she has sold, and proceeds on her voyage to Pernambuco, and thence back to the United States to-morrow.

The rains, unusually protracted this season, are hardly yet at an end;—but the Colonists were never more healthy at any season. This blessing has never been enjoyed by them more perfectly than since my last dates, by Dr. Peaco, whose arrival in America long before the present time, I trust, has put the Board in possession of very particular intelligence from the Colony up to the middle of August.

Having been absent from Monrovia, on a visit to the Gallinas, until within 48 hours of the sailing of the Tamworth, it is not possible to enter into the particulars of the state of the Colony. I can, however, thro’ the blessing of God on our poor endeavours for its advancement, say, that the ordinary measure of prosperity continues to attend it. Factory Island, and a large district unlimited on one side—of the Grand Bassa country, now belongs to your institution.—The deeds conveying to us this important territory are herewith inclosed.\* A large public house has been built for us by the late proprietors of the country, on Factory

\* Finding these deeds not yet recorded, in our Register, I do not send them, but will, by the first direct conveyance.



Island, and we expect next week to begin the first settlement there, by establishing two respectable families on the island.

Caldwell is in a very prosperous state.

A new town for re-captured Africans has been founded on the Stockton, two and a half miles below its junction with the St. Paul's. It is not yet named.—This is the third settlement begun on the creek.

The unsettled state of the tribes to the windward, owing to a long and distracting servile war (*bellum seville*) has put it out of my power yet to execute the arrangement mentioned by anticipation, in my last, for which an overture had been offered by some of the chiefs of Cape Mount.—One point, I think, has been certainly gained, which, in the absence of a more intimate connexion of this Colony with those tribes, will make it safe to wait a more favourable season to press them to a sale of any part of their country. To the leeward of the Gallinas river, all the country authorities have come into an express and most solemn engagement, neither to dispose of any part of their territory to any other foreigners, nor to suffer their establishments amongst them. I propose to visit the Rio Pongas previous to my return to the United States, which I hope to be able to do so soon as the month of March or April.

One of the boats of which the frames were brought out by the Indian Chief, has been more than a month completed; in which time, I have visited in her a greater extent of this part of the coast, than from the want of so commodious a conveyance, I had ever before been in a capacity to do. The schooner carries ten tons—has a large cabin—a brass 6 pounder, pivot-mounted—and 12 stands of arms. Having a strong crew on board, she is able to resist most of the small pirates of the coast. Her utility to the Colony promises to be nearly inestimable—by extending our relations, and binding together our establishments along the coast, as well as in the transportation of produce.

There are more than twelve public buildings, including three new fortifications, going forward, of which a particular account may be expected by the next opportunity of writing the Board.

We shall expect a large accession of Colonists as early as the middle of January: when, if no disappointment occurs in our present hopes and labours, we shall be ready to receive them.

Our schools, for want of both instructors and books, are in a languid state: trade increases perhaps too rapidly. But it is hitherto confined chiefly to Monrovia. The people of Caldwell are all farmers. Forty families have title deeds for their lands. Several, by the terms of the original grant, have forfeited their rights. Shall the forfeiture be exacted?

Mr. Hodges, boat builder, from Norfolk, was, at the moment of Dr. Peaco's departure, struggling in the grasp of death. He did not survive the following night. His estate has been settled, and his property and papers will be forwarded by the first direct conveyance to Norfolk. He was an amiable, pious, and estimable young man, whose death is sincerely and universally deplored amongst us.

We still enjoy a state of profound tranquillity, as regards our relations with *all* the tribes of the country. The last season was most abundantly prolific in rice; and never have our settlements been in so favourable a state to admit, I may add, to *require*, a very large addition of settlers, as at the present moment. All this region of Africa opens its bosom for the reception of her returning children. I rejoice in the testimonials furnished in different ways, of a growing and enlightened interest in the objects of your Board among the American people. It is one of those great and benevolent designs on which the Merciful Father of all mankind loves to smile, which the American Colonization Society has undertaken. Its root is deep, and its growth, however gradual, I entirely believe to be sure. But the greatest difficulties—for difficulties the cause has always struggled with, I never supposed to lie on this side of the ocean. To obviate prejudices, and unite the exertions, and rouse the enterprise of the whole American people; this is the great labour, and to such as most successfully engage in, and prosecute it, will be chiefly due the acknowledgments of posterity.

I am happily restored again to myself and the Colony, after a tedious, and for much of the time, a distressing confinement to my chamber for six months.

I must again solicit the Board to send at least 20,000 feet of lumber, chiefly  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch boards, by their next transport, which I sincerely pray may arrive as early as the middle of January; and I must again solicit the liberty of returning to the United States early in the next Spring.

Dr. Peaco is, of course, confidently expected back previous to my own departure from the Colony, which will be subjected to the most serious inconveniences, if left six months without an agent—a misfortune which I trust may not happen.

Im am, gentlemen, with sincere respect,

Your obedient servant,

J. ASHMUN.

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MONROVIA, *December 6th*, 1826.

GENTLEMEN:

Capt. G. having postponed sailing until to-morrow, affords me an opportunity to add, that among the buildings now in progress, is a receptacle for emigrants in the Caldwell settlement, 100 feet long, with a store house additional, of 24 feet in length. It is believed that the St. Paul's will prove a more salutary residence for new emigrants, than the Cape. The physician of the Colony, will, of course, reside in the Government House of the same settlement, while his patients are accomplishing their seasoning.

It also becomes me to mention by this conveyance, that I have obtained the perpetual grant, rent free, of an indefinite tract of country, lying between the two Junk rivers, 35 to 40 miles to the leeward of the Cape: this is a very important acquisition, and the deed shall be forwarded by the first direct conveyance. This district will, eventually, become the property of the Society on very easy terms. Indeed, the entire coast, from the St. Paul's towards the north to Trade town south eastwardly, is in a sense in the actual occupation, and under the jurisdiction of the Colony, (100 miles.) The country people begin, as a customary thing, to honour me with the title of "Headman for all their country," and "Father for we all;" and whenever a proposition is submitted to them, they are in the habit of replying, "you know best what is good for us;" and in case they shall ever be straitened in consequence of yielding to my requests, they are careful to let me know that the Colony will ultimately be obliged to provide them with the means of subsisting themselves.

Capt.\*Gridler having a small lot of cheap furniture, very much needed for the St. Paul's Government House, and a lot of pro-

visions, I have made a small purchase of both for the Colony—paid two tons of wood, all I could prevail on him to take, and drew on your Treasurer for the balance of 124 dollars, which I trust you will order duly paid.

I have the honour to remain,

Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. ASHMUN.

P. S. Please cause to be acknowledged the receipt for the schools, of six boxes of books, of individuals in Boston; for the Library, of 620 volumes, contributed by Dartmouth College.

Do. do. 2 bundles of pamphlets by individuals, of Boston. All of which are received in good order, freight-free, by Messrs. Ropes, Reed & Co's brig Tamworth, Capt. Gridler.

The donation is invaluable, and the school books came at a moment when several departments of instruction were on the point of being given up for want of books.

J. A."

## Slave Trade.

We rejoice to perceive that the King of France has published a decree for the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. This traffic has, of late years, been more extensively prosecuted under the flag of this country, than under that of any other Power.

### *Decree of the King of France against the Slave Trade.*

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all who shall see these presents, greeting:

We have ordained, and do ordain, that the project of a law of the following tenor, shall be presented to our minister, Secretary of State to the Department of Marine and the Colonies; whom we charge to explain its object, and to support it in discussion.

*Only Article.* In case of co-operation or participation, by any means whatever, in the traffic known under the name of the negro Slave Trade, the proprietors and supercargoes, the insurers who insure it knowingly; the captain or commander and other officers of the vessel, shall be punished with banishment, and a fine equal to the value of the ship and cargo.

The fine shall be pronounced conjointly against the individuals designated in the preceding paragraph.

The captain and other officers shall be further declared incapable of serving under any title in the King's Navy, or the French merchant service.

Other individuals belonging to the crew, shall be punished with imprisonment of from three months to five years. From these are excepted such of the abovementioned individuals as shall, within fifteen days after the vessel's arrival, declare to the commissary of the marine, or the magistrates in the French ports, or the French consuls in foreign ports, the facts which they shall know.

The vessel shall be seized and confiscated. The penalties, under the present law, are independent of those which shall be pronounced in conformity with the penal code, for other crimes or offences which may have been committed on board the ship.

The law of April 15th, 1818, is abrogated.

Given in our palace of the Thuilleries, December 27, 1826, and our reign the 3d.

CHARLES.

By the King.

The Peer of France, Secretary of State of Marine and the Colonies.

COMPTE DE CHABROI.

## Horrors of the Slave Trade.

Such horrid occurrences as the one related below, we would gladly conceal from the public view, if we did not believe that crime is emboldened by secrecy, and that facts like these are calculated to arouse the generous feelings of the People to endeavours for their suppression. The only way to abolish the Slave Trade is, by invading its sources with settlements on the coast of Africa. It is, therefore, with reason, apart from Republican and Christian motives, that Liberia enjoys the support of all philanthropists among us.—*Balt. Gaz.*

"The Sierra Leone Gazette of the 9th September, on the authority of a correspondent, mentions a most atrocious act of barbarity, on the part of a French slave captain, named Gilbin. This

fellow had carried off from the Gallinas, about six weeks before, 250 slaves, whom he intended to introduce surreptitiously into Gaudaloupe. He succeeded in landing the whole, except sixty-five, when, having observed a French cutter coming towards the vessel, he threw those sixty-five miserable beings overboard, in order to avoid a discovery of the traffic he had been carrying on! The Governor of Gaudaloupe, it is added, gave orders to seize the murderer, when the crime he had perpetrated was discovered by the dead bodies that were drifted ashore; but he had sailed before the order could be executed."

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### Virginia Conference.

At a late meeting of the Virginia conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, a resolution was adopted requesting that every preacher in that conference should make a collection on the fourth of July next, in aid of the American Colonization Society. We hope that all the other ecclesiastical bodies will follow an example so worthy of their imitation.

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### Extract from the Norfolk Herald.

I have seen, with great pleasure, that the Legislature of Kentucky have passed a resolution recommending the object of the American Colonization Society to the patronage of Congress. And nothing, I think, could be more truly honorable to her councils than this proceeding, especially as it shows a triumph of reason over certain prejudices which have heretofore prevailed, I suppose, in that state, as well as in our own. I say prejudices; for really I have always thought that we have no reason whatever to imagine for a moment that there was or could be any thing like a disposition, on the part of our General Government, or of our Northern members more particularly, to meddle with the subject of slavery as it exists in our Southern States, established by our laws, and under the sanction of the Constitution itself. | Nor

have I ever been able to see, for my part, why the patronage of Congress to a benevolent and patriotic Society which, without interfering, in the smallest degree, with that *delicate interest*, only aims to remove what we all consider as a great evil—our free people of colour—and which evil *does* interfere with that interest, should excite the jealousy or spleen of our most watchful and determined advocates of state rights. Surely if our friends of the North are willing, in a fair and liberal spirit, to unite with us of the South in appropriating a part of the common revenue to this truly catholic object, but by which we are to be particularly benefitted, it is not for us to refuse the aid—unless indeed it were very clear that Congress have no right to legislate upon the subject. But the right and indeed the duty of Congress to afford the Society that reasonable aid which it asks, is probably very fairly within the true scope and spirit of that clause of the constitution which gives them power “to lay and collect taxes, duties and imposts; to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.”—And it is at least very certain, that nothing could tend more directly to promote some of the great purposes for which that instrument was framed, as stated in its preamble—for instance—“To form a more perfect union, ensure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves, and our posterity,” in all their fullest extent, than the very scheme which the Society is now pursuing with so much success.

I am not at all anxious however, I confess, to press this point upon any of our conscientious *literals*, (especially as I am by no means an *ultra* myself,) because I have always thought that it was much more clearly and distinctly the right and duty of the state governments, (especially, of course, of our Southern ones,) to promote this great object by liberal appropriations from their treasuries; and I am more particularly desirous to see our own Commonwealth coming out in the cause, in a manner worthy of herself. And here too, by the way, if I thought it necessary, I could point her to the recent and honorable example of another sister state, on the other side of us, I mean Maryland, whose Legislature has lately granted the annual sum of a thousand dollars to aid the funds of the Society. But it cannot be necessary, I am sure, to stimulate her wisdom or her virtue by referring her

to any foreign example whatever. Let her only look back for a bright leaf in her own statute book, and read again her ever memorable resolution upon the subject of colonizing our free people of colour in Africa, or elsewhere beyond the limits of the United States, from which this Society in fact emanated, and she will see at once that path of policy which she was the first to show to others, and which her duty and her honor now alike command her to pursue.

I do not know however, whether it may not be too late to bring this subject before our General Assembly during its present session, which is or ought to be hastening to its close; and especially if the houses should not be ready to act upon it with that perfect unanimity which it is so very desirable to obtain. Let it lie over then, I would say, to the next session, and let the members who may not be already distinctly satisfied, take some pains, in the mean time, to examine the claim of this colonizing scheme to their favor. Let them examine it with that patience and candor which are so obviously due to ourselves, in considering a project in whose success we have so deep an interest—and separating it entirely from all its imaginary connections with questions of party politics with which it has really nothing to do—and I am persuaded that the result will be their hearty support of the plan.

I will just add here, that whenever our Commonwealth does come out to act again upon this subject, I hope that it will not be to make a direct grant to the Society itself; but rather to aid its object, or more properly speaking, to execute the long established policy of her own laws, by an act to encourage the emigration of our free people of colour to the Society's settlement in Liberia, by certain bounties, and other provisions, which I may take occasion to suggest hereafter. In the mean time, I will just observe that this adoption of the scheme by our General Assembly, would have the immediate effect of making its execution entirely safe, as well as absolutely sure; and so most happily, quiet forever all those very unnecessary fears which any persons may have thought themselves authorized to feel about the views and wishes of its friends.

SHARP.



**Naimbanna, the African Chief.**

The late J. H. Naimbanna, son of the former king of Sierra Leone, when at the supposed age of twenty-four, was induced, by the suggestions of a free black belonging to the first body of settlers from London, to determine on going over to England, with the view of acquiring an education; intending to commit himself to the liberality of an English gentleman, to whom he had heard that the free black had been indebted for some degree of schooling. He was on the point of coming to an agreement with the master of a slave-vessel, who was to receive three slaves as the price of his passage through the West Indies hither, when a ship sent out by the Sierra Leone Company to explore the country, arrived in Sierra Leone river. Having been brought by this vessel to England, he was placed under the care of two clergymen successively, who have furnished the chief part of the information concerning him, which will now be communicated to the Court.

A desire of knowledge was the predominant feature in his character. His instructors have mentioned that he would continually urge them to prolong the time employed in reading together. He was also forward in declaring his obligations to every one who would assist him in the acquisition of useful learning; he would express regret if he had been led into any company where the time had passed away without improvement; and when it happened that he was left entirely to himself, he would employ not less than eight or ten hours of the day in reading. Though the disadvantages arising from the long neglect of his mental faculties were apparent, he shewed signs of very good natural sense; he had also a faculty at distinguishing characters; and his mind, as might naturally be expected, was ready to receive impressions from those persons of whom he had conceived a good opinion. He had few advantages of person, but he was uncommonly pleasing in his behaviour, shewing much natural courtesy and even delicacy of manners; he was also of a kind and affectionate disposition. He was quick in all his feelings, and his temper was occasionally warm, some degree of jealousy also entering into his character: in particular he was indisposed to answer questions put to him by strangers concerning the state of his own country; for he was apt to suspect that they meant to draw comparisons between England and Sierra Leone, unfavourable to the character of the latter, and

he would therefore, on such occasions, often turn the conversation, by remarking, that a country so unfavourably circumstanced as Sierra Leone had hitherto been, was not to be supposed capable of having made any attainments worthy of being the subject of conversation in Great Britain.

The following anecdote will shew still more strongly the extreme sensibility which he felt, when any circumstance arose which touched the honour of his country; and it will also explain the grounds of his peculiar jealousy on this subject.

The name of a person having been mentioned in his presence, who was understood by him to have publicly asserted something very degrading to the general character of the Africans, he broke out into some violent and vindictive language against this person. He was immediately reminded of the christian duty of forgiving his enemies, upon which he answered nearly in the following words: "If a man, said he, should rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can forgive him; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in slavery in the West Indies, I can forgive him; but (added he, rising from his seat with much emotion) if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him." Being asked why he would not extend his forgiveness to those who took away the character of his country, he answered, "If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or sell; but if any one takes away the character of black people, that man injures black people all over the world; and when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to black people ever after. That man, for instance, will beat black men, and say, O, it is only a black man, why should not I beat him? That man will make slaves of black people; for when he has taken away their character, he will say, O they are only black people, why should not I make them slaves? That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them; and if you ask him, but why do you take away all these people, he will say, O, they are only black people, they are not like white people, why should not I take them? That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country."

*Report of the Sierra Leone Company.*

## **The Past and Future.**

We are now brought to the conclusion of our second volume. A recurrence to past events, particularly to those of the last year, awakens devout gratitude, nor can the future be contemplated, without invigorated resolution, loftier aims, and hopes of brighter promise.

The practicableness and utility of the scheme in which this Society embarked, ten years ago, with few friends, scanty means, and in view of obstacles both numerous and appalling, is no longer problematical. The experiment proposed by the Society, has been fairly tried and with entire and unexampled success. The Colony of Liberia appears to be established on sure foundations, and to exhibit both in its internal affairs and external relations, a degree of prosperity far exceeding the expectations of its earliest friends. It is a christian community on a pagan shore, exerting a benign and extensive influence upon numerous heathen tribes, and offering to countless barbarians instruction in the pure principles of the religion of Christ. Nor is the knowledge thus imparted merely theoretical. The poor natives see christianity embodied in the lives of its professors, and feel that it is an active practical principle, essentially conducing to the happiness of the individual, and to all the interests of society. In all their intercourse with the Colony, they find this religion a principle of veracity, integrity and kindness, constituting a sure ground for reliance, and creating within their bosoms gratitude, confidence and affection.

The settlement at Liberia has remarkably enjoyed the protection and favour of the Almighty. In times of danger, of trial, and of want, its members have found refuge and resources in God. Their afflictions have served to deepen their pious sentiments, and to direct their thoughts more constantly to the realities and glories of an immortal state. Awakened in such seasons to a conviction of their entire dependence upon the invisible and eternal Being, they have, under the chastisements of his hand, learnt righteousness.

It must be manifest to the friends of this Institution, that to sustain its enlarged operations the present year, funds will be required far exceeding the amount of annual donations in preceding years. By nothing are the Managers more encouraged in the pro-

secution of their great enterprise, than by the evidently increasing interest felt throughout the country in its success. The cause itself makes an appeal, not easily to be resisted, to the humane, the patriotic and the religious. Thousands the year past have felt this appeal, and shown, by well directed and productive efforts, that their natures must be changed, before they can regard with indifference the claims of such a cause.

The Managers are convinced, that the work in which they are engaged, is not only sanctioned by humanity and benevolence, but of great national interest and importance, and they trust the time is not remote, when it will receive the approbation and aid of the whole American people; when the State Legislatures and Congress will harmoniously unite their energies for its accomplishment, and thus rear an imperishable monument to the magnanimity and charity of our glorious Republic. To secure an object so imperiously demanded by every consideration of duty and interest, they invoke the aid of the press, the ministry, Auxiliary Associations, and in fine, of all who are sensible to the misery of others, or concerned for the welfare and the honour of their country. For the present year, they must rely upon the charity of their friends. But while they trust that the contributions of the liberal and religious will be such as to enable them to conduct forward the arduous work to which their efforts are devoted, they confidently hope, that every thing possible will be done to secure to it the assistance of those powers of the government which alone are adequate to its consummation. Particularly would the Managers invite the attention of the Rev. Clergy to this cause. Could every minister of every denomination be induced to bring the design of this Society before his congregation on the Sabbath immediately preceding or succeeding the fourth of July, and solicit a contribution in its behalf, the benefit would prove incalculable. Africa would rejoice, and Heaven smile upon a nation making such a united and noble offering of its charities.